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By

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**Investigating The Anti-Consumerism Movement in North America:
The Case of Adbusters**

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Investigating The Anti-Consumerism Movement in North America:

The Case of Adbusters

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Güner and Müeyyet Binay and my brother Dr. Murat Binay, for their unconditional love, guidance, and support in every step of the way. Through their devotion to family, I have always found myself on solid ground. As I have followed the footsteps of my brother in academia, I will always look up to him as my mentor as well as my friend. While I embark on the next chapter of my life, I cherish my family with deep gratitude and love. Thank you for the person I have become. I love y'all.

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Ayse Binay, Ph.D.

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Supervisor: Neil Burns

This dissertation investigates the anti-consumerist movement called “culture jamming,” the practice of critiquing mass media messages and their influence on culture by subverting their messages through artistic satire. Culture jamming, which views the media as a means of constructing a false reality, intends to challenge the frame of mind that internalizes media messages without thinking. Culture jammers, practitioners of this mass media critique practice, can be viewed as spokespeople for postmodern era culture critics. They create an alternative consumer resistance media that replies back to the mass media messages based on existing media artifacts. This dissertation explores the critique of advertising by culture jammers and how consumers respond to such anti-consumption rhetoric.

It is important for advertising academicians to study consumer resistance movements, specifically anti-consumerist media activism that directly attack the cultural products of advertising. An in-depth investigation of such critical discourse would provide the advertising literature with the insight needed to evolve into an all-encompassing arena. There is a significant lack in the body of knowledge in this area and this dissertation aims to put one stone in this gap.

Thus, this dissertation aims to investigate the effects of consumers' attitudes toward subvertisements on attitudes toward the brand depending on brand loyalty/familiarity. We hypothesize that except for the extreme groups on the loyalty scale, the consumers will struggle to distinguish between subvertisements and advertisements, which will result in all messages being read as original ads. As a result, subvertisements will reinforce their pre-test attitudes toward the brand. Thus, subvertisements will not function as oppositional messages; on the contrary, their effects will be similar to those of co-opted messages. This dissertation aims to gain insight on advertising professionals' views on and anti-consumption rhetoric and co-optation strategies as well as consumer resistance movements.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the anti-consumerist movement called “culture jamming,” the practice of critiquing mass media messages and their influence on culture by subverting their messages through artistic satire. Culture jamming, which views the media as a means of constructing a false reality, intends to challenge the frame of mind that internalizes media messages without thinking. Culture jammers, practitioners of this mass media critique practice, can be viewed as spokespeople for postmodern era culture critics. They create an alternative consumer resistance media that replies back to the mass media messages based on existing media artifacts. This dissertation investigates the critique of advertising by culture jammers and how consumers respond to such anti-brand rhetoric.

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subvertisements will reinforce their pre-test attitudes toward the brand. Thus, subvertisements will not function as oppositional messages; on the contrary, their effects will be in the form of co-opted messages. This dissertation aims to gain insight on advertising professionals' views on anti-consumption rhetoric, co-optation strategies as well as consumer resistance movements.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Culture Jamming and Subvertising

Although a difficult task, it is important for this dissertation to loosely define the concept of culture jamming. It can be thought of as a collage of art, media activism, satire and expression of resistance to consumerism. The term jamming is borrowed from the non-physical confrontation ideas of citizen band radio's media resistance practices. Cultural critic Mark Dery (1993) defines the term "jamming" as a citizen band radio slang for the illegal practice of interrupting radio broadcasts or conversations between fellow hams with lip farts, obscenities. Culture jammers implement the core idea of sabotage in their work as a resistance to be implemented in the resistance to the spectacle of media, aiming to disturb "the manipulation of symbols." The term was first used by Negativland, a San Francisco agitprop band, in one of their songs to describe the concept of billboard alteration¹: As awareness of how the media environment we occupy affects and directs our inner life grows, some resist...The skillfully reworked billboard...directs the public viewer to a consideration of the original corporate strategy. The studio for the cultural jammer is the world at large.

After two decades, Dery (1993) describes the term culture jamming as including various forms of media sabotage such as media hoaxing, audio agitprop, billboard banditry, guerilla semiotics, zines, etc. According to Dery (1993), culture jammers are "artistic terrorists" as well as "vernacular critics", similar to Eco's (1986)

¹ Agitprop: Utilizing digital samplers to deconstruct media culture and challenge copyright law. Collage bands consider the world as a studio and use sounds from many sources such as cell phone conversations, old radio series as well as material off the Internet. Plagiarism is used as a culture jamming technique as the record companies consider copying as bootlegging. In the early 90's, Island Records sued Negativland for using part of a song by U2 in a parody.

communications guerrillas. They “introduce noise into the signal as it passes from transmitter to receiver, encouraging idiosyncratic, unintended interpretations.” By connecting various media messages with subversive meanings, culture jammers “decrypt” media messages, “rendering their seductions impotent” (Dery, 1993).

For many of its practitioners culture jamming is an entire way of living. It advocates the rejection of the notion of citizen as consumer, and the idea of society as marketplace. The culture-jammer and media-activist approach to life questions the underlying social relations governing the place of media in our culture. The do-it-yourself attitude in all its forms is evident in methods used in culture jamming. “Self made magazines, techno music created by teenagers in bedrooms, personal web site production, graffiti, hacking, billboard alteration and other forms of popular media resistance to the mainstream can reside under the broad banner of media activism.” (Cox, 2000).

The other term that needs to be defined is subvertising. It is defined by Dery (1993) as “the production and dissemination of anti-ads that deflect Madison Avenue's attempts to turn the consumer's attention in a given direction. Often, it takes the form of “sniping” which involves illegal, late-night sneak attacks on public space by operatives armed with posters, brushes, and buckets of wheat paste.” Groups such as the Billboard Liberation Front (BLF) of San Francisco, which has been deconstructing and reconstructing billboard advertisements with subversive messages for 26 years, are increasing in number.² BLF considers the alterations in billboard ads improvements. In a 1998 billboard improvement, the group changed Apple's tagline Think Different to

² Billboard Liberation Front's works can be seen at <http://www.billboardliberation.com>

Think Disillusioned (see Exhibit 1). In a more recent job, they have decided to improve a Banana Republic billboard advertisement to depict gay rights (see Exhibit 2). Similarly, the subvertising group BUGA UP³ stages hit-and-run demotions, or anti-promotions, in the form of spraying graffiti on cigarette or liquor ads in Australia since 1979. The name of the group is an acronym for Billboard-Utilizing Graffitists Against Unhealthy Promotions and a “pun on bugger up, Aussie slang for screw up.” (Dery, 1993)

Schmio Awards is another form of advertising critique that can be considered as jamming.⁴ It is an annual ceremony that parodies the advertising industry's Clio Awards by presenting sarcastic awards such as Enticing Children to Give out Personal Information Over the Web or The Schwarzenegger Prize for Making War Seem Really Cool. According to Larry Adelman, one of the founders of the Schmio Awards, advertising is accepted as a natural part of the environment. The goal of the Schmios is “to make issues regarding advertising more visible, in the hope of starting a national debate: How much is too much? Should there be spaces that are free from advertising? What happens when advertising shapes our identities and our perceptions of the world to the extent that it does?” (Beato, 1999).

Adbusters, a quarterly magazine based in Vancouver that critiques consumer culture, uses subvertisements in its pages instead of real advertisements. Adbusters produces professional-looking anti-advertisements as well as pieces that can be compared to the work of installation artists who take ordinary household items and place them into such unusual contexts that viewers are forced to recreate the meaning of the common

³ BUGAUP's works can be found at <http://www.bugaup.org>

⁴ Schmio Award winners can be seen at <http://www.schmios.com>

objects. Television, radio and print media are all funded to varying degrees by advertising revenue that serves as a license to do business (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Even with the “Chinese Wall” in place that aims to prevent “any potential conflicts of interest between the advertising function and the editorial function,” (Sheehan, 2004, p. 38), in a mass media outlet, content may be biased in favor of the advertisers and corporations providing financial support. Since advertising shapes the public spaces of mass communication by acting as a gatekeeper with the power to influence programming content, issues concerning democratic participation and the empowerment of marginalized or subaltern social groups are contrary to their interest of the advertisers and their corporate clients (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Kellner, 1995; Twitchell, 1996). Thus, any publication or program that chooses to publish or air material that is critical of business interests places itself at an enormous competitive disadvantage (Rumbo, 2000). Adbusters, instead of accepting advertising, chooses to fill its content with anti-advertisement spoofs. Such a rejection of corporate sponsorship is significant in that it attempts to effectively exist as a media outlet to include discourse that opposes the belief system of consumerism and commercialization.

Culture jamming started out as a subversive culture critique underground movement with a do-it-yourself punk attitude mixing art, media, parody and an outsider stance. It is closely related to the theories of situationist cultural criticism.

Situationist International: Subverting the Society of the Spectacle

Established in 1957, Situationist International disseminated its theory of cultural criticism and resistance through the journal *Internationale Situationniste*, published until

1969 (Plant, 1999). Debord (1967) characterized the modern capitalist society in his book, *The Society of the Spectacle*, as “an immense accumulation of spectacles” (p. 2), and the spectacle as “a social relationship between people that is mediated by images” (p. 12). Based on Marxist commodity fetishism and aesthetic criticism, Debord bases his critique on the deceptive commodified spectacular imagery. The means of communication in the spectacle is made up of signs that are at the same time the “ultimate end-products of that organization” (p. 12), which is precisely the reason for the spectacle’s tautological foundation. According to Debord, the spectacle is the “opposite of dialogue” (p.17) and essentially communication through the spectacle is one-way.

The situationists were reacting against the passive culture spectatorship of the world as well as the ideas capitalist society stands for (Klein, 1999, p. 81). According to the situationists, it was impossible to actively contribute to the construction of the lived world. The situationist concept of the modern life spectacle essentially describes the effects of commodity consumption and the show-like aspect of living through mediated environments. The messages, images and signs, originating in commodity production, have become the language of the spectacle and assumed their role in the continuation of social relations. The situationists believed that the spectacle had “kidnapped” real lives, co-opting whatever authenticity they once had (Lasn, 1999, p. 101). As reality and commodified spectacle become indistinguishable, having genuine human experiences becomes unfeasible. “The commodity’s mechanical accumulation unleashes a limitless artificiality in the face of which all living desire is disarmed. The cumulative power of

this autonomous realm of artifice necessarily everywhere entails a falsification of life” (Debord, 1967, pp. 44-45).

One of the major subversive ways to abolish the spectacle in everyday life according to the Situationists was to be involved in *detournement*, which literally means turning around. Described by Debord as “the fluid language of anti-ideology” (p. 146), it essentially creates a new meaning out of an image, message or object by taking it out of context and redirecting it in order to reclaim its meaning. Situationist *detournement* is defined by Greil Marcus (1999, p. 168) as “the theft of aesthetic artifacts from their contexts and their diversion into contexts of one's own devise.” The main object for *detournement* is to “devalue the currency of the spectacle” (Lasn, 1999, p. 108). By co-opting and negating previous works, *detournement* causes the text to be read subversively through the recollection of the original work and the realization of what has changed. The situationists believed that the key to successful subversion is acting spontaneously and attacking the spectacular commodity culture itself in everyday life, instead of those who are implementing it and putting it into effect. Thus, the divide between theory and action would diminish, smoothing the process of social change. The reclamation and subversive re-meaning of offensive words such as “queer” and “nigger” by the groups they were used for to disparage, can be mentioned as successful examples of *detournement*.

Taking the words, meanings, theories, and experiences of the spectacle and placing them in an opposing context, the situationists aimed to use *detournement* in order to counteract against the spectacle (Plant, 1999). With the idea of negation, the

situationists believed they have found a way to disintegrate the spectacle through subversion. Debord suggested that a cultural revolution was about a gradual but effective strategy of transforming everyday life in its smallest detail, not about removing political institutions from power.

The situationist ideal of transforming everyday life has failed while postmodernism flourished as “the manual for survival in a capitalist world” (Plant, 1999, p. 7). Both postmodernist and situationist culture criticism identify similar issues such as pastiche and deconstruction, Surrealist subversion and violence from within systems and revealing hidden insinuations. Postmodernist theorists use such concepts to illustrate a coping strategy based on acceptance of the hyperreality of the world in which the spectacle “defines, circumscribes and becomes more real than reality itself” (p. 6). Baudrillard’s (1981) hyperreality concept suggests that reality has become representation, a digitally enhanced copy of a copy of a copy. Assuming the idea that even death is merely a function of simulation and that truth can never be absolute, discards even the slightest possibility of change and inevitably results in rejecting any form of resistance. The notions of theoretical unity or society as a whole cease to exist with the realization that the individual and the world are de-centered, the search for authenticity is futile and alienation is an unavoidable aspect of life that should be accepted. Postmodernists believed that the capitalist society was immune to transformation thus provided a survival approach in the existing postmodern condition.

Just as postmodernist theory assumes, the spectacle’s survival and expansion is based on presenting the spectacular commodity system as the only system of social order

that can efficiently provide the means of survival (Plant, 1999). De Graaf, Wann and Naylor (2001) believe in the undeniable fact that the deregulated free market, backed by the military and police powers of the state, is the only economic system capable of producing the cheapest consumer goods. Fairness in this low-cost goods-production, is another issue. Situationists, in contrast with survivalist postmodern thought, were precisely aiming to find a way of transforming the spectacular world into one where the necessities of survival have disappeared (Plant, 1999).

The spectacular commodity world is able to provide everything, satisfy all desire, find an answer to every predicament, and fulfill every dream through the mediation of commodities. Continuation of the economic system becomes the purpose of existence in the shape of commodity. Thus we live in a tautological world where in order to conceal the reality of its absence, appearance of real life is maintained. People experience a second-hand reality exposed to images and commodities that present fabricated experiences, feelings and lives. However, they are in search of meaning and authenticity in their lives. The spectacular ads suggest that such a life comes in products or packaged commercial experiences. (De Graaf et al., 2001)

In his *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, Debord (1988) mentions the public's preferred use of the word media, which is a description of the instrument that the spectacle uses to portray itself for the spectators' passive admiration rather than spectacle. Specifically, advertising, which is considered as the "official art of modern capitalist society" (Williams, 1965, p. 27), uses magical symbolism by turning commodities into glorious signifiers, which represent a make-believe world of social

interactions. (Williams, 1965; Twitchell, 1996) Based on McCracken and Pollay's claim that advertising that makes goods communicators, Jhally (1990, p. 34) explains advertising's significance in the meaning making process as "fetishism of commodities." "The *real and full* meaning of production is hidden beneath the *empty appearance* in exchange. Only once the real meaning has been systematically *emptied* out of commodities does advertising then *refill* this void with its own symbols. Thus when products appear in the marketplace, although we may well be aware of them as products of human labor, because there is no specific social meaning accompanying this awareness, the symbolization of advertising appears more real and concrete. *The fetishism of commodities consists in the first place of emptying them of meaning, of hiding the real social relations objectified in them through human labor, to make it possible for the imaginary/symbolic social relations to be injected into the construction of meaning at a secondary level. Production empties. Advertising fills. The real is hidden by the imaginary.*" With the realization that consumption of an object relies on its meaning than its use, the symbolic power of all the assorted matter of organized systems of transcendental barter can be better understood (Twitchell, 1996).

Debord (1967) believed that what is needed for the spectacle's dissolution is a new revolutionary art. He identified a need for a revolutionary critique of all art, not a critique of revolutionary art. By abolishing the separation of the artist and the spectator, revolutionary art would be produced through the use of free creative activity (Hastings-King, 1999). For a school of advertising critics, the preferred method for getting people to think about advertising is the attention-getting contemporary discourse of advertising

itself. It's like martial arts, explains Sut Jhally, the executive director of the Media Education Foundation⁵. "The only language that operates in the modern world is the language of advertising culture. And if you want to fight, you've got to use that language. You've got to turn the power of your opponent back on itself" (Beato, 1999). In the ancient martial arts of jujitsu, the fighter who wins the battle is the one who successfully uses their opponent's weight against them.

Culture jammers tap into the meaning-making symbol of a brand with the intention of turning it against its cause by engaging in detournement through subvertising and media activism against commodification and consumption. Jammers are considered to be "writing theory on the streets, literally deconstructing corporate culture with a waterproof magic marker and a bucket of wheatpaste" (Klein, 1999 p. 284). The inspiration of revolutionary resistance can be observed in the subversive movement in the postmodern era. Instead of a postmodernist acceptance of the spectacle, culture jammers embrace the situationist concept of believing that people have all the tools to create a subversive revolution. Lasn (1999), the founder of Adbusters organization and magazine, optimistically argues that a mass awakening against the corporations that feed the society of spectacle through advertisements is imminent. Lasn expresses a respect for the power of advertising. "We're not anti-advertising," he says. "We see ourselves as being part of advertising. But we're not product marketers. We're social marketers who think that advertising has the power to set new agendas and create mass reversals of perspective"

⁵ The Media Education Foundation produces and distributes video documentaries to encourage critical thinking and debate about the relationship between media ownership, commercial media content, and the democratic demand for free flows of information, diverse representations of ideas and people, and informed citizen participation. (<http://www.mediaed.org>)

(Beato, 1999). The point of culture jamming is to subvert the “image factory until the day it comes to a sudden, shuddering halt,” and to build, “on the ruins of the old consumer culture,” a new, noncommercial one. (Lasn, 1999, p. 160) With strategies as graffiti, subvertisements, software-sharing on the Internet, rearranging items on supermarket shelves and social-marketing television campaigns, culture jammers intend to “get consumer culture to bite its own tail.” Lasn claims that the system will essentially short-circuit and explode if there are enough “wrenches thrown into it”, and people will snap out of their “media-consumer trance” (Gamson, 2000).

New Social Movement Theory

New Social Movement theory describes social movements in relation to the democratic system in postmodern society to guarantee individual liberty, equality and fraternity. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 169), the French Revolution started “the democratic revolution” which enabled the production of new antagonisms through presenting its democratic principles to numerous areas of social life. The subversive power of the democratic discourse lies in its dissemination of these values into extensive areas of social life. Consequently, “actors” who work collectively challenge the view of society as a natural and rigid hierarchical system. Laclau and Mouffe believe that democracy is transforming into an authoritarian, technocratic state where market forces dominate creating the existing consumer culture. Workers have turned into consumers and individuals’ main social role is to exist as consumers. In this role, they are manipulated entirely by the market. Similarly, Touraine (1995) points out that the state, the market with its mega-corporations and mass media are progressively diminishing

individual liberties. For Habermas, the expanding structures of state and market economy colonize the individuals' public and private spheres, which he calls the lifeworld. The lifeworld contains domains such as family, education, art, religion where meaning and value reside for individuals. As a result of this colonization, private life becomes more politicized (Foweraker, 1995).

Habermas approaches social movements as individuals' defensive reactions to preserve their public and the private spheres. Similarly, Touraine (1981) believes that the only way in which individuals can recover their liberties is by participating in social movements. The main role of social movements is the mobilization of "actors" and "subjects." Habermas and Touraine refer to human beings as free and creative members of the society, not as victims or objects of state and the market. A social movement is a collective form of action to challenge the exploitation of political and economic power and to change the political and market institutions. Inherently, any social movement will be in disagreement with existing norms and values.

A central concept in Touraine's sociology of action is historicity, which he believes is a property of modern societies. Historicity is defined as the capacity of society to 'act upon itself' in order to transform the set of cultural models that guide social practices. It is "the set of cultural, cognitive, economic, and ethical models by means of which a collectivity sets up relations with its environment; in other words, produces . . . a culture" (Touraine, 1988, p. 40). However, he points out that culture is more than a general framework of social relations; it refers to the fundamental object of historical conflicts. A culture is "a stake, a set of resources and models that social actors

seek to manage, to control, and which they appropriate or whose transformation into social organization they negotiate among themselves” (8). Social contestation over the appropriation of historicity creates a culture. In post-industrial societies the central conflicts of post-industrial societies are over the “production of symbolic goods” and the appropriation of historicity rather than political rights or material concerns (Touraine, 1985, p. 774). The central actors in these meaning-making struggles are the technocrats who control the production of meaning and those who resist it and fight for the collective reappropriation of historicity (Touraine, 1981, p. 62).

Similarly, Melucci (1989, p. 75) argues that social movements include “symbolic challenges” leading to “a molecular change which is cultural in the anthropological sense: an alteration of daily life, of ways of living and forms of social and personal relationships”. Political movements may carry cultural meanings, but the possibility of a merely cultural movement is rejected. “In contemporary societies signs become interchangeable and power operates through the languages and codes which organize the flow of information. Collective action, by the sheer fact of its existence, represents in its very form and models of organization a message broadcast to the rest of society” (1996, p. 9).

New social movements theory suggests that these movements establish symbolic challenges to the dominant codes in societies. Culture Jamming in this sense is the quintessential new social movement and can be analyzed through its theoretical framework. Culture Jamming can be thought of as a reflexive form of activism that considers strategies of communication as a means of a struggle as well as an end to it.

Culture Jamming challenges the “codes” of commercial communication (advertisements) as well as the stage of social relations and practices (advertising) through which the dominant codes are produced and disseminated. The creation and offering of democratic alternatives is embodied in the culture jamming artifacts such as subvertisements. Democratization of communication might be thought of as the core of the Culture Jamming movement. In order to evaluate subvertisements in this manner, it is essential to look at active audience theory.

Culture Jamming as Active Audience

Despite its highly debatable nature, many communications scholars attempted to define the term “audience”. Cheryl Harris (1998, p. 4) indicates that “audiences in and of themselves cannot be said to “exist” anywhere, and they do not stand still. They are mutable, fluid, dynamic and interactive, with endless overlaps and resistant to ideological closure.”

As McCracken (1988) states, the process of making meaning can only be achieved by active consumers. As advertising brings together meanings from the “culturally constituted” world, in other words the “referent system” (Williamson, 1978), and the product together, it is up to the active audience to construct the commodity meaning. Williamson (1978, p. 12) explains the process of meaning-making of advertisements as follows: “Advertising seems to have a life of its own; it exists in and out of other media, and speaks to us in a language we can recognize but a voice we can never identify. This is because advertising has no “subject.” Obviously people invent and produce adverts, but apart from the fact that they are unknown and faceless, the ad in any

case does not claim to speak from them, it is not their speech. Thus there is a space, a gap left where the speaker should be; and one of the peculiar features of advertising is that we are drawn in to fill that gap, so that we become both listener and speaker, subject and object.” Thus, advertisements invite the audience to become the entity that mediates the construction of meaning. With such active involvement in the meaning making in the process, it is unfounded and speculative to accuse advertising to be “manipulating” the consumers.

Using the basic communication model with the components of source, channel, message, receiver and effect, the term audience relates to receivers. There are various models explaining the audience construct such as the mass audience model that views the audience as a mass of passive and non-influential group of people, the limited effects model which preceded the uses and gratifications approach and views the audience as a group of people whose opinions, attitudes and behaviors are much more influenced by social environment than by mass media’s persuasive appeals (McQuail 1997). Cultural studies theorists have a more optimistic approach to the audience reception of media messages. With Hall’s (1980) active audience model, instead of an omnipotent media, the audience is viewed as a polysemic-text-reader. Audience members can decode media messages in various ways including preferred, negotiated and counter-hegemonic readings. Active audience theorists argue that the audience is not passive.

Culture jamming can be perceived as the response the critical audience gives to advertising messages. Through creating spoofs of the ads, the audience is able to resist the preferred readings imprinted with the workings of the dominant culture. As Klein

(1999, p. 281) states, culture jamming “rejects the idea that marketing -because it buys its way into our public spaces- must be passively accepted as a one-way information flow.”

Knowledge of the workings of social structures and the rank order of power and interest and the structure of legitimations, limits and sanctions are embedded into the preferred readings. The codes inherent within connotative messages reveal “the orders of social life, of economic and political power and ideology” (Hall, 1980, p. 134). Culture jamming utilizes these codes to talk back to the media messages creating an active audience. By doing this, readers of the advertising text move away from their assumed position of being “powerless in the face of ideology”(Radway, 1984, p. 6). Positioning people as powerless dismisses any possibility of resistance or social change. The terminology used by culture jammers when describing their activities include phrases as counter-hegemonic, active response and Eco’s (1986) semiological guerilla warfare.

The receiver of the message seems to have a residual freedom: the freedom to read it in a different way...I am proposing an action to urge the audience to control the message and its multiple possibilities of interpretation. One medium can be employed to communicate a series of opinions on another medium...The universe of Technological Communication would then be patrolled by groups of communications guerrillas, who would restore a critical dimension to passive reception (pp. 142-143). Dery (1993) states that culture jammers often make use of what might be called guerrilla semiotics which can be described as “analytical techniques not unlike those employed by scholars to decipher the signs and symbols that constitute a culture’s secret language, what literary theorist Roland Barthes called systems of signification. These systems,

notes Barthes in the introduction to *Elements of Semiology*, comprise nonverbal as well as verbal modes of communication, encompassing images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all these.

Culture jammers deliberately decode the hegemonic media messages in a counter-hegemonic manner by creating their counter-media-messages with a satirical spin of the originals. Founder of Adbusters Kalle Lasn (1999) explains the culture jamming concept using the metaphor of jujitsu. In the practice of this martial art, the successful fighter wins a battle by utilizing his opponent's weight against him. "In one simple deft move you slap the giant on its back. We use the momentum of the enemy" (p. 67).

Since the significance of culture jamming lies within the practice of subverting media messages, it is the most noticeable way to observe the active audience concept. The Joe Camel campaign (see Exhibit 3) is an example of subverting a mass media message by an active audience. Adbusters created the cartoon character Joe Chemo based on Joe Camel, Camel cigarettes' cartoon character. The subvertisements were placed on original Joe Camel billboard advertisements, which is a practice called liberating a billboard, similar to BLF's billboard improvements. By subverting the original advertisement with a clever play on words as Chemo rather than Camel, culture jammers at Adbusters were demonstrating an oppositional reading of the original concept and replying to the hegemonic message of the ad. The liberated billboards with the Joe Chemo ads become almost a public service announcement portraying the effects of cigarette smoking that the original advertisers choose to ignore. In this sense, subvertising can be perceived as social marketing.

Klein (1999) believes that “a good jam is an X-ray of the subconscious of a campaign, uncovering not an opposite meaning but the deeper truth hiding beneath the layers of advertising euphemisms” (p. 281). Texts that are subverted move away from their hegemonic consume-this-product messages and encourage the audience to look at the motivations behind the advertisements. “The most sophisticated culture jams are not stand-alone ad parodies but interceptions, counter-messages that hack into a corporation’s own method of communication to send a message starkly at odds with the one that was intended” (p. 281). The Joe Chemo subvertising campaign is a successful example of such a sophisticated active audience demonstration. In 1999, the tobacco settlement that forbids tobacco advertisers from using cartoon characters in their ads went into effect (Sheehan, 2004).

Savan (1994) explains the influence of mass media messages, especially advertising, on the culture formation and transformation of viewers’ identity into consumers: “Virtually all of modern experiences now has a sponsor, or at least a sponsored accessory and there is no human emotion or concern – love, lust, war, childhood innocence, social rebellion, spiritual enlightenment, even disgust with advertising – that cannot be reworked into a sales pitch. In short, we’re living in a sponsored life. The sponsored life is born when commercial culture sells our own experiences back to us. It has often been said by television’s critics that TV doesn’t deliver products to viewers but that viewers themselves are the real product, one that TV delivers to its advertisers. True, but the symbiotic relationship between advertising and

audience goes deeper than that. The viewer who lives the sponsored life – and that is most of us to one degree or the other- is slowly re-created in the ad's image” (p. 6)

Adbusters created a campaign called “The Product is You” (see Exhibit 4) that embodies Savan's idea of the viewer becoming the object of consumption. This subvertisement visually portrays the discourse that views media messages as not only mimicking culture, but also becoming the influencing factor in creating and reinventing culture and identities as well. A cup of Maxwell House coffee is not only a cup of coffee, but represents the American heritage and family values and goodness to the last drop. By choosing to become a Maxwell House drinker, the person becomes associated with these concepts through the semiological system of cultural signs created through the advertising messages. Similarly, ads are multi-dimensional, polysemic, ideologically coded, open to a variety of readings and expressive of commodification of culture and attempts of capital to colonialize the totality of life, from desire to satisfaction. Identity continues to be the problem it was throughout modernity, though it has been problematized further in the current amalgam of commodification, fragmentation, image production and societal, political and cultural transformation that is the work of consumer capitalism (Kellner, 1995).

In the current commercial environment, advertisers became meaning brokers (Klein, 1999) of cultural images, ideas and symbols and brand managers turned into culture makers who sell a particular lifestyle instead of a product. With the interference of a subvertisement, such as the “The Product is You” campaign, the consumer is

presented with the manipulative concepts behind the mass media messages, which forces the viewer to reflect on such issues.

Co-optation Theory

For almost as long as advertising has existed, so has advertising criticism, though with noticeably less success. In 1905, Colliers magazine published how snake-oil salesmen had “seduced [the press] into captivity” by making it so dependent on their advertising (Beato, 1999). Many Americans, unable to attain economic prosperity, started to show antipathy towards the happy consumer society portrayed in advertising during the Great Depression. Responding to the cultural trend, Broadway shows such as *It Pays to Advertise* and *Nothing But Lies*, and magazines like *Ballyhoo*, parodied advertising's inclination for deception in the early 1900s. *Ballyhoo*, the Adbusters of the Depression-era, was being published in New York with a circulation of 1,5 million in 1931. In a fake ad for the Twitch Toucher Upper School, a woman who has just painted a moustache on a glamorous cigarette model is shown. The copy reads “Become a Toucher Upper! If you long to mess up an advertisement: if your heart cries to paint pipes in the mouths of beautiful ladies, try this 10-second test now! Our graduates make their marks all over the world! Good toucher uppers are always in demand” (Klein, 1999, p. 304).

Under attack with severe criticism and parody, advertisers began to use self-parody in 1930's. With this historical change in strategy, resistance to advertising messages began to be co-opted by advertisers. Frank (1997) defines co-optation theory as “the notion that business mimics and mass-produces fake counterculture in order to

cash in on a particular demographic and to subvert the great threat that “real” counterculture presents” (p. 7) Marcuse (1965) identified the terms integration, co-option and repressive tolerance as the way in which dissenting voices can be rendered harmless by their absorption into the spectacle. Debord (1988) considers the strategy of co-optation to be disinformation. He writes, “unlike the straightforward lie, disinformation must inevitably contain a degree of truth but one deliberately manipulated by the artful enemy. This is what makes it so attractive to the defenders of the dominant society” (p.45)

Under Debordian school of thought, self-mocking advertising messages are considered to be indicators of the corporate state’s hostility. Co-opted products are believed to be tools with which the advertisers planned to absorb the resistance, symbol of opposition that were transformed into consumer commodities. The corporate power structures demonstrate an egocentric effort to confiscate and subvert the symbols of resistance. Co-opted products such as Body Shop’s Activist perfume, the Canadian Revolution Soda Pop Co.’s Che Guevara drink and Nike’s commercials featuring William Burroughs demonstrate the futility of resistance. Resistance ideals are “emptied of content and ironically sold to their creators as replacements of the original” (Frank, 1997, p. 32). In 1997, the advertising agency Weiden & Kennedy offered Mark Hosler from Negativland, the band that coined the phrase culture jamming, to work on the new Miller Genuine Draft commercial. To their dismay, Negativland rejected the offer. Klein (1999) quotes



Hosler's rude awakening: "It's not just the fringe that's getting absorbed now-that's always happened. What's getting absorbed now is the idea that there's no opposition left, that any resistance is futile."

A resistance act that work as a way to talk back at the ads ironically becomes the inspiration for more advertising. In today's "use-it-once-and-throw-it-away, planned obsolescence world of American consumer culture" (De Graaf et al., 2001, p. 48) it should not be surprising to observe revolutionary ideas being consumed in sales pitches to the consumers before they become obsolete. Klein (1999) explains the concept of "ironic consumption" with a quote from the editors of 'zine *Hermenaut* :

Following the late ethnologist Michel de Certeau, we prefer to concentrate our attention on the independent use of mass culture products, a use which...may not overthrow the system, but which keeps us intact and autonomous within that system, which may be the best for which we can hope... Going to Disney world in full knowledge of how ridiculous and evil it all is and still having a great innocent time, in some almost unconscious even psychotic way... This is what Certeau describes as "the art of being in between" and this is the only path of true freedom in today's culture (p. 236).

In other words, the postmodern survivalist culture critique and engaging in ironic consumption seems to be the only way to exist in today's world. With consumers who are experts in the art of being in-between, commercial concepts of rebellion, liberation and revolution are commonplace almost to the point of invisibility in advertising, movies, and television programming. Corporations co-opt criticisms by creating a fake

counterculture that is “a commercial replica that seemed to ape its every move for the titillation of the TV-watching millions and the nation’s corporate sponsors” (Frank, 1997, p. 7).

Frank believes that during the 60’s, many in American business “welcomed the youth-led cultural revolution not because they were secretly planning to subvert it or even because they believed it would allow them to tap a gigantic youth market, but because they perceived in it a comrade in their own struggles to revitalize American business and the consumer order generally” (p. 32). During this decade advertisers offered the public authenticity, individuality, difference and rebellion. The increasing tribute to difference, transgression and the carnivalesque, encourages the notion that business and hip are irreconcilable enemies of American mass culture. According to Frank, the historical meaning of hip, as a set of liberating practices fundamentally at odds with the dominant impulses of postwar American society, seems to be fixed.

Described by cultural studies researchers as a technocracy, the power block, hegemony or everyday life, corporate culture is assumed to be a monolithic static system with unchanging values. Frank believes that identifying capitalism, culture-products and its opponents in an inflexible binary system of hip and square (homogeneity vs. heterogeneity, the power block vs. the people, conformity vs. individualism) is a major mistake.

His notion of “hip consumerism” is related to Klein’s “ironic consumption.” As resistance to existing cultural norms becomes “hip” which is the absolute desire of the youth generation, advertisers claim the very concept that attacks itself by co-opting it.

Frank (1997) claims that as American businesses co-opted elements of counterculture in their brand communications, the “cultural perpetual motion machine in which disgust with the falseness, shoddiness, and everyday oppressions of consumer society could be enlisted to drive the ever-accelerating wheels of consumption” (p. 31). Hip consumerism simultaneously reinforces contemporary capitalism’s “cycling of obsolescence.” With the co-optation strategies of consumerism, products now exist to put us in touch with our authentic selves, to distinguish us from the mass-produced herd, to express our outrage at the oppressive world of economic necessity. As Seabrook (2000, p. 33) writes in *Nobrow*, “pop was a symbolic language with which to talk about feelings you couldn’t talk about in real life – love, pain, happiness.”

Holt’s Dialectic Model of Branding and Consumer Culture

Holt (2002) divides up the branding efforts in consumer culture into three phases as modern branding paradigm, postmodern branding paradigm and post postmodern branding paradigm (see Exhibit 5).

Holt believes that in the modern paradigm, cultural construction and abstraction were valid marketing strategies. Marketers instructed and advised consumers as cultural authorities on the most appropriate lifestyles and offered their brand as an integral part of this kind of life. Thus in modern branding, paternalism was essential to advertising. As branding efforts increased in intensity, critics such as Vance Packard and Kenneth Galbraith opposed branding techniques for attempting to create desires unnecessary for human happiness. The contradiction during this period was that marketing firms seemed to be claiming the power to author consumers’ lives through brand advertising while

capitalism affirms the freedom to choose. With the public realization of and resistance to this contradiction, marketers recognized that consumers' consumption experience of idea-expression through consumption needed to be replaced with personal development, achievement and self-creation through consumption.

Thus advertising and marketing efforts evolved into the postmodern branding paradigm. Holt suggests that the creative revolution associated with Bill Bernbach's advertising agency, DDB, was a "flurry of strategic experiments to locate a new branding model that would work in the shifting consumer culture." These experimentations were perfected in the later years. Advertisers experimented with new techniques of marketing as consumers started to view consumption as an autonomous space in which identity construction was possible. Modern consumer culture "authorized the meanings that consumers valued" (p. 82), while postmodern consumer culture only insisted that meanings must be channeled through brands to have value. With this in mind, brands are offered to the consumers as "cultural resources" to develop their personal sovereignty rather than "cultural blueprints" (p. 83) to abide by. With numerous critics of branding and consumption revealing the postmodern branding techniques compels marketers to develop new strategies of promoting brands.

Holt believes that brands in the post postmodern consumer culture will not be able to conceal their commercial motivations. The degree of contribution as a cultural resource will become the quality that consumers look for in a brand, turning them into another form of expressive culture, similar to art forms such as films or television programs. Nonconformist consumers who engage in unorthodox consumption strategies

and utilize the cultural products of marketing and advertising practices to express their personal sovereignty become the fuel for the post postmodern branding paradigm. Consumers who choose to develop revolutionary countercultural movements facilitate the marketing strategies to rejuvenate themselves through the co-optation process.

Considering Frank and Holt's arguments, it is appropriate to argue that today's consumerism recognizes the resentment and resistance that emerges from the alienation, boredom, and disgust of consumers and turns these sentiments into necessities that can be satisfied by offerings of brand loyalty and accelerated consumption. As Baudrillard argues, the methods at work in resistance by the alienated and the marginal are in essence a mere simulation of the resistance, produced by the master code itself. In these terms, the resistance functions to empower the dominant course. This study intends to gain insights on the effects of resistance messages against brands vs. original brand messages on consumers' brand perception. We will explore consumers' brand perceptions associated with subvertisements. For such an investigation, it is imperative to consider consumers' brand loyalty.

Brand Loyalty

The most widely accepted definition of loyalty is by Jacoby and Chesnut (1978). They suggest that customer loyalty is the behavioral outcome of a customer's preference for a particular brand from a selection of similar brands, over a period of time, which is the result of an evaluative decision-making process. Other researchers have defined the concept of brand loyalty as a repeat purchase that is a result of a preference, attitude or market share. These differences in view are reflected in the behavioralist or cognitive

schools of thought. In addition, more recent research has introduced the affective component (Kim, Lim and Bhargava 1998) as an explicit element of brand loyalty, thus making brand loyalty a trinity-like construct containing affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects. These three elements can be summarized as consisting of two key dimensions: attitudinal and behavioral loyalty (Baldinger and Robinson 1996). Attitude examines the affective and cognitive aspects of brand loyalty, such as brand preference and commitment (Gremler and Brown 1998; Mellens, Dekimpe and Steenkampe 1996; T aylor 1981). On the other hand, behavioral brand loyalty is reflected in the observed repurchase of a brand from a number of available brands (East 1997; Ehrenberg 1988).

For the purpose of this dissertation, brand loyalty will be treated as a three-part construct with affective, cognitive and behavioral elements.

Attitude Toward the Ad vs. Brand Attitude

Research on Attitude Toward to Ad (AAD) suggests that consumers' brand/choice behavior is likely to be influenced by attitudes toward the advertising stimulus (Muehling and McCann, 1993) and favorable reactions to an ad will be transferred to the brand that is advertised (Gresham and Shimp, 1985; Richard, 1985; Mitchell, Andrew and Olson, 1981; Shimp, 1981). It has also been proposed that the pairing of an unknown brand name with a highly valenced visual stimulus likely causes the transference of affect from ad to brand (Muehling and McCann, 1993). Thus, we can assume from previous research that as the viewer of an ad develops positive reactions to an ad, these will cross over to the Brand Attitude as well.

One of the processes hypothesized about the relationship between AAD and Brand Attitude is based on a classical conditioning effect (Mitchell, Andrew and Olson, 1981; Shimp, 1981). Learning theory suggest that we learn to like objects associated with positive things and obtain unfavorable feelings toward objects associated with negative things (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). The other explanation for the relationship between AAD and Brand Attitude suggests that the advertisement becomes a salient associated object of the advertised brand acting as any other attribute that contributes to the Brand Attitude (Mitchell, Andrew and Olson, 1981). Both explanations conclude that a positive ad evaluation will result in a positive affect toward the brand. Also, Zinkhan, Locander and Leigh (1984) have shown that the recall and recognition levels of ads evaluated more positively tend to be higher. As this is the case, it is in the best interest of the brand to disseminate ads that are most favorable (Muehling, 1987).

Chapter Three: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In light of the above literature review, I believe it is crucial to study the customer perception of advertisements that intend to elicit unfavorable reactions for a brand (subvertisements), and gain insights on the nature of their effects on attitudes toward the brand, if any. As indicated in the existing literature, many brands develop co-optation strategies against the attacks of subvertising. The attitudes of advertising and marketing industry professionals towards these co-opted brand messages should also be examined. Thus, this dissertation proposes to investigate the following research questions:

- ~~✍~~ How do attitudes toward the subvertisements affect brand perceptions of a consumer group compared to their attitudes toward the advertisements?
- ~~✍~~ Do subvertisements affect the consumer perception of a brand depending on the brand familiarity of those exposed? If so, what is the nature of this effect?
- ~~✍~~ How do the effects of attitude toward the ad on brand perception vary depending on the familiarity of the group exposed?
- ~~✍~~ How do industry professionals perceive subvertisements?
- ~~✍~~ How do industry professionals respond to co-optation theory?

Chapter Four: HYPOTHESIS

This dissertation aims to investigate the effects of attitude toward subvertisements on attitude toward the brand depending on brand loyalty/familiarity.

Hypothesis 1: We hypothesize that except for the extreme groups on the loyalty scale, consumers will struggle to distinguish between subvertisements and advertisements, which will result in all messages being read as original brand ads. As a result, subvertisements will not have a significant effect on their post-test attitudes toward the brand. For those consumers who are on the extreme points of the continuum, Enthusiasts and Terrorists, the effects of subverted messages would be greatest. These consumers tend to hold firm beliefs in their attitude regarding brand attitudes. Brand messages or critical messages would not alter, rather reinforce their attitudes towards a brand. Absolut Enthusiasts, who would probably be collecting the advertisements due to interest in the brand as a fan, both subverted and original advertisements subvertisements would have a reinforcing effect on their brand attitudes as a strong and firm positive brand attitude towards Absolut is expected. Subvertisements would be received as artifacts to be added to their collection. In Hall's active audience model, these consumers would have a dominant reading of both styles of advertisements. They would understand the subverted message's encoding, but their brand perceptions would not be negatively affected by it.

H1: "Post Brand Attitude for the Enthusiasts group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude."

Hypothesis 2: For Terrorists, subvertisements would have a reinforcing effect on their brand attitudes since they are expected to have a strong and firm negative brand attitude

towards Absolut. On the other hand, the subverted advertisements might even inspire them to create their own to tarnish the Absolut brand. With Hall's active audience model, Terrorist consumers would have an oppositional reading to advertisements and a preferred reading of the subvertisements.

H2: "Post Brand Attitude for the Terrorist group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude"

Hypothesis 3-4-5: The effect of both subvertisements and advertisements for the mid-level categories in the brand loyalty ladder (Rejecter, Buyer, Loyalist) is expected to be the low. For their brand perceptions and loyalties are not as strong compared to those consumers in the extreme points in the ladder, they are likely to not be able to distinguish between advertisements and subvertisements. As a result, either original or subverted, every advertising message is expected to be perceived as an original advertisement and not have a significant impact on brand attitudes.

H3: "Post Brand Attitude for the Loyalists group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude"

H4: "Post Brand Attitude for the Buyer group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude."

H5: "Post Brand Attitude for the Rejecter group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude."

Chapter Five: METHODOLOGY

For the quantitative part of the dissertation, an online survey was developed to explore the effects of respondents' attitudes toward the ad on brand perception. The respondent group were asked to answer a survey consisting of Likert-type questions and semantic differential statements. The study was conducted in February 2005 in a two-week period.

The qualitative section of the dissertation involves 4 1-1,5 hour interviews with advertising industry professionals using Zaltman's Metaphor Elicitation Method.

Quantitative Methodology

Larry Light's Loyalty Ladder

In order to determine the brand familiarity and loyalty of the informants, Larry Light's consumer categories will be used. Self-administered brand familiarity/loyalty questions (see Appendix A) were included in the study design. For the purposes of this study, the consumer categories of Terrorist, Rejecter, Buyer, Loyalist and Enthusiast were used.

Experimental Study Design

To gather consumers' brand perception data, a self-administered brand perception questionnaire was included in the online study questions (see Appendix B). The same set of questions were administered before and after the respondents viewed the complete collection of advertisements and subvertisements. Thus, comparison of the pre-test and post-test results in the analysis and discussion section will expose any changes in brand

perceptions for each level of brand familiarity group as well as the general respondent group.

For the purposes of this study, Absolut Vodka advertisements and subvertisements were used to explore the consumer perception of brand and attitudes toward the ad as well as the brand (see Appendix D). The Absolut subvertisements were created as a campaign and compared to single, one-shot subvertisements of other brands in various product categories, they provide a more diverse tool for investigation; thus this brand was chosen for investigation. Multiple subvertisements of one brand gives us an opportunity to evaluate the consistency among consumer brand perceptions after being exposed to each subvertisement. Since Absolut is a very well known brand in its category, it is more likely to have a definite brand image (positive or negative) in consumers' minds and the loyalty scale results would be varied. The subvertisements used in the study are obtained from the Adbusters website⁶ and were randomly chosen for each respondent. The random exposure of the stimulus minimizes the systematic effects of subvertisements over original ads.

Design

Brand Perception Pre-test -- [Exposure to Ad Stimulus -- Measurement of Attitude Toward the Ad] * 6 -- Brand Perception Post-test

Procedure:

~~1.~~ Collection of demographic data

~~2.~~ Collection of Brand Loyalty data

⁶ The subvertisements used in this study can be found on the Adbusters website: <http://www.adbusters.org>

~~✍~~ Pre-test of Attitude Toward the Brand

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 1

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the Ad

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 2

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the Ad

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 3

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 4

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the Ad

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 5

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the Ad

~~✍~~ Exposure to ad stimulus 6

~~✍~~ Measure Attitude Toward the Ad

~~✍~~ Post-test of Attitude Toward the Brand

Sample and Data Collection

The sample for the quantitative part of the study was recruited from the participants of the University of Texas at Austin Advertising Department's Online Consumer Panel. An invitation email was sent out to 3000 participants and 1711 responses were received. Of the total responses received, 1359 were usable for the analysis. As an incentive to participate, respondents were informed that their names would be entered into a draw with a \$150 prize if they completed the survey.

Measures, Independent and Dependent Variables

Demographic variables were age, sex and inclination to drink alcohol and were measured once at the beginning of the study. A Brand Loyalty Score was constructed using the data collected with brand loyalty scale (see Appendix A) in order to explore the sample in loyalty groups. In order to examine the attitude toward the original advertisements and subvertisements, one independent variable (Attitude Toward the Ad) was measured for each ad stimulus totaling six attitude toward the ad variables. A Pre-Brand Attitude Score and a Pre-Brand Attitude Score was constructed with the data collected using Droge's (1989) attitude toward the brand scale (see Appendix B). To measure the attitude toward the ad, Edell and Burke's (1987, Burke and Edell, 1989) negative attitude scale was selected (see Appendix C). With the data collected, two new independent variables that measure three original advertisements (Attitude Toward Original Advertisements) and three subvertisements (Attitude Toward Original Advertisements) combined were constructed. The dependent variable was Post Brand Perception.

Qualitative Methodology

Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET)

Developed by Dr. Gerald Zaltman, ZMET is a research method that aims to obtain information from informants, with an emphasis on visual images, metaphors and emotions. The technique is comprised of 4-5 in-depth interviews that use an 8-step interview process. Research participants are asked to bring in visual metaphors, such as pictures from magazines, pieces of artwork, and/or photos taken specifically for this

assignment or retrieved from photo albums (Coulter, Zaltman and Coulter, 2001), to the interview in order to facilitate their thought processes and representations. Using visuals as stimuli has been an accepted and utilized in research (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry, 1989; Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991) as a method in hermeneutical research in consumer behavior. Validation studies reveal that 4 or 5 in-depth interviews that are focused on identifying and understanding core themes can provide up to 90% of the information available from a larger set of interviews using ZMET (Zaltman 1997; Zaltman and Coulter 1995).

The interview steps that will be utilized in ZMAT are as follows:

Storytelling: Participants are asked to reveal the salient aspects of each picture they bring in.

Missed Images: Informants are asked to describe any images that they were unable to find in the timeframe of the assignment.

Sorting: Participant, who brought in more than the invited number of 12-15 pictures, are asked to sort them in meaningful sets and asked to eliminate any duplicate-meaning images.

Construct Elicitation: Participants are asked to comment on 3 selected pictures and identify how any two are similar yet different than the other.

Metaphor Elaboration: the participant is asked to elaborate on 2 or 3 pictures that the researcher focuses on following prior criteria, and answers pre-determined questions.

~~///~~ *Sensory Images:* Informants are asked to provide non-visual senses in order to represent the concept that is discussed.

~~///~~ *The Vignette:* Participants are asked to imagine a short movie that describes their thoughts and feelings about the topic.

~~///~~ *The Digital Image:* Participants are asked to create a summary image or a montage that expresses the topic under study.

An analysis that conveys the main set of constructs that the participants have revealed about the issue at hand is developed by the researcher with the information gathered from the interviews.

Sample and Data Collection

In-depth interviews with 4 informants, who are advertising and marketing professionals, were conducted utilizing the ZMAT technique in order to get a deeper understanding of how subvertisements and Adbusters are perceived and how co-optation strategies are conducted. Informants were recruited from advertising agencies. The informants were recruited as a convenient sample through an international online listserve, Adlist, which belongs to the website Ad-rag.com. Three of the informants were recruited and interviewed in Austin and one was interviewed in Chicago. Data was collected with a digital video camera. The interviews lasted between 1 hour and 1,5 hours. Transcription of the collected data was performed by the researcher.

II. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Quantitative Analysis Results

Before the analysis, it is necessary to talk about the reliability tests for the different scales used in the study. The reliability test for the statements used in each scale resulted in good internal consistency for all scales, allowing the constructs to be formed efficiently. The α values for each reliability test are as follows:

Reliability for attitudes toward branded products scale $\alpha = .6822$. Reliability for brand loyalty scale $\alpha = .7596$. Reliability for pre brand attitude scale $\alpha = .9268$. Reliability for post brand attitude scale $\alpha = .9453$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (hangover) scale $\alpha = .9250$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (impotence) scale $\alpha = .9275$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (london) scale $\alpha = .9020$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (marilyn) scale $\alpha = .9259$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (onice) scale $\alpha = .9256$. Reliability for attitude toward the ad (sadist) scale $\alpha = .9277$.

The results show that there is a moderate positive correlation ($r = .476$ $p < .01$). Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score (see Table 1). There is a positive correlation ($r = .215$ $p < .01$). Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score (see Table 1). As a result, we can deduct from this data that respondents' attitudes toward Absolut advertising stimuli positively affect their post brand attitude. As respondents have positive attitudes toward the advertisements and the subvertisements, their post brand attitude increases. This idea will be further investigated when the consumer groups are divided into groups later in this chapter.

When a multiple regression analysis was run to analyze the effects of attitudes for each stimulus ad have on post brand attitude, it is notable that the only negative results are for two subvertisements, namely the Impotence and On Ice. As evident in Table 2, these two subvertisements relate to Post Brand Attitude ($t = -.552$; $t = -.219$). Both of the subvertisements have a negative effect on the post brand attitude variable.

The results in Table 3 show that there is a strong positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .763$ $p < 0.01$). As a result, we can deduct from this data that respondents who have participated in the study depend on their preconceived attitudes toward the Absolut brand.

Pre Brand Attitude Score is positively correlated with Attitude Toward Branded Products ($r = .052$ $p < 0.01$). In Table 4, Post Brand Attitude Score is also positively correlated with Attitude Toward Branded Products ($r = .105$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, these results show that as participants' attitude toward branded products increase, their attitude toward the Absolut brand also increases. These are both weak positive correlations, but it is notable that the correlation for Pre Brand Attitude Score is weaker than the correlation for Post Brand Attitude Score. Thus, we can conclude that after getting exposed to original ads and subvertisements, attitude toward branded product becomes a stronger indicator of brand attitude. Also, original advertisements and subvertisements act as a reinforcement for pre-existing brand attitudes.

In order to understand and examine how consumers' different brand loyalty values affect brand perception when exposed to an advertisement or a subvertisement, a Brand Loyalty Index was constructed to aid in the segmentation process and the data was

reordered using this index. Then consumers were segmented by being assigned to one brand loyalty group among Terrorist, Rejecter, Buyer, Loyalist and Enthusiast according to their Brand Loyalty Index Score. Afterwards data checks were performed.

Results for the Enthusiasts Group:

H1: “Post Brand Attitude for the Enthusiasts Group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude.”

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 8). At the .05 significance level the t value is not significant therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This finding supports our hypothesis, H1.

The results in Table 5 show that when the sample size is considered, there is not a significant correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score. As a result, this finding also supports the hypothesis.

The results from Table 6 reveal that there is not a significant correlation between attitude toward branded products and pre brand attitude and post brand for the Enthusiasts.

Table 7 results also indicate that there is not a significant correlation between attitude toward subvertisements and post brand attitude for the Enthusiasts group. We can observe that there is not a significant correlation between attitude toward original ads and post brand attitude. Thus, as the attitude toward subvertisements increase, the brand attitude for Absolut is not affected. For the Enthusiasts group, who feel most strongly in a positive way about the Absolut brand, the more they like the subvertisements, it is not

likely that their brand attitude is going to change. Thus, these results support the hypothesis, H1.

Results for the Terrorists Group:

H2: “Post Brand Attitude for the Terrorists group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude”

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted as can be seen in Table 10. At the .05 significance level, the t value is not significant; therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This finding supports the hypothesis, H2.

The results (Table 9) also indicate that there is no significant correlation between attitude toward subvertisements and post brand attitude for the Terrorists group. We can observe that there is not a significant correlation between attitude toward original ads and post brand attitude. Thus, as the attitude toward subvertisements increase, the brand attitude for Absolut for the Terrorists group is not affected. The case is the same for original ads as well. As the brand attitude score does not change with an increase in an attitude towards subvertisements as well as advertisements, we can conclude that Terrorists do not make a distinction between subvertisements or advertisements do not affect Post Brand Attitude. Thus these results support Hypothesis 2.

As seen in Table 11, for the sample size, there is no significant correlation between attitude toward branded products and pre brand attitude and post brand attitude for the Terrorists group. These findings show that as the attitude for branded products increase, the brand attitude for Absolut is not affected. Thus, for Terrorists group, the more brand conscious they are and the more they believe in branded products’

superiority, does not mean the more likely to have a positive attitude toward Absolut.

Thus these results support Hypothesis 2.

Results for the Loyalists Group:

H3: “Post Brand Attitude for the Loyalists group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude.”

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 13). At the .05 significance level, the t value is not significant; therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This finding supports the hypothesis H3.

As seen in Table 14, there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .718$ $p < 0.01$) for the Loyalists group. On the other hand, there is no significant positive correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude as well as Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude for the Loyalists group (Table 15). Thus, as the attitude toward subvertisements increase, the brand attitude for Absolut for the Loyalists group is doesn't get affected. The case is the same for original ads as well. These findings indicate that even though original ads and subvertisements do not affect Loyalists group.

There is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score or Post Brand Attitude as can be seen in Table 12. Thus, for Loyalists group, brand consciousness does not have any relationship with brand attitude toward Absolut.

Results for the Buyers Group

H4: “Post Brand Attitude for the Buyers group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude.”

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 17). At the .05 significance level, the t value is not significant; therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This finding supports the hypothesis, H4.

Table 16 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .710$ $p < 0.01$) for the Buyers group. Thus, Post Brand Attitude relies heavily on Pre Brand Attitude for the Buyers group.

The results in Table 18 reveal that there is a weak negative correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude ($r = -.068$ $p < 0.05$) and no correlation for Post Brand Attitude for the Buyers group. These findings show that as the attitude for branded products increase, the brand attitude for Absolut is not going to be affected significantly. Thus, for the Buyers group, whose members choose not to purchase the Absolut brand, brand consciousness and belief in branded products' superiority slightly affect attitude toward Absolut.

Table 19 results indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude ($r = .236$ $p < 0.01$). Similarly, Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score are significantly correlated to each other Attitude ($r = .486$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, as the Attitude Toward Subvertisements increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Buyers group is also increased. The case

is the same for original ads as well. These findings indicate that original ads and subvertisements affect the Buyers group, however these effects do not result in a change in their Post Brand Attitudes. It is notable that Original Ads have a stronger positive effect on Post Brand Attitude.

Results for the Rejecters Group

H5: “Post Brand Attitude for the Rejecter group will not be significantly different than its Pre Brand Attitude.”

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 21). At the .05 significance level, the t value is significant ($t = 3.601$ $p < .05$); therefore the null hypothesis can be rejected. This finding fails to support the hypothesis, H5.

Table 20 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .724$ $p < 0.01$) for the Rejecters group. Thus, Post Brand Attitude relies heavily on Pre Brand Attitude for the Rejecters group.

The results in Table 22 reveal that there is not a significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude and Post Brand Attitude for the Rejecters group. These findings show that as the attitude for branded products increase, the brand attitude for Absolut is not going to be affected significantly. Thus, for the Rejecters group, whose members feel negatively about the Absolut brand, brand consciousness has no relationship with their attitudes toward Absolut.

Table 23 results indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude ($r = .190$ $p < 0.01$). Similarly,

Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score are significantly correlated to each other Attitude ($r = .399$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, as the Attitude Toward Subvertisements increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Rejecters group is also increased. The case is the same for original ads as well. These findings indicate that original ads and subvertisements, and these effects result in a change in a significant change in their Post Brand Attitudes affect the Rejecters group. Original Ads have a stronger positive effect on Post Brand Attitude.

Due to the fact that the Enthusiasts group has 17 respondents and the Terrorists group has 11 respondents, these groups were merged with Loyalists group and Rejecters group respectively. The results for the analysis is as follows:

Results for the Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged Group

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 25). At the .05 significance level, the t value is not significant; therefore the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. This finding supports the hypothesis H3.

As seen in Table 24, there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .492$ $p < 0.01$) for this merged group. Similarly, there is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude as well as Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude for the merged group (Table 27). Thus, attitude toward subvertisements does not have a relationship with the brand attitude for Absolut for the merged group. The case is the same for original ads as well.

There is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score or Post Brand Attitude Score as can be seen in Table 26. Thus, for the Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged group, brand consciousness does not have a relationship with attitude toward Absolut.

Results for the Terrorists-Rejecters Merged Group

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 29). At the .001 significance level, the t value is significant ($t = 3.475$ $p < .01$) ; therefore the null hypothesis can be rejected. This finding fails to support the hypothesis, H5.

Table 28 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .735$ $p < 0.01$) for the merged group. Thus, Post Brand Attitude relies heavily on Pre Brand Attitude for this group.

The results in Table 22 reveal that there is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude and Post Brand Attitude for the Terrorists-Rejecters Merged group. These findings show that as the attitude for branded products increase, the brand attitude for Absolut is not going to be affected. Thus, brand consciousness or belief in branded products' superiority does not have any effect on attitude toward Absolut.

Table 23 results indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude ($r = .205$ $p < 0.01$). Similarly, Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score are significantly correlated

to each other Attitude ($r = .394$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, as the Attitude Toward Subvertisements increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Terrorists-Rejecters Merged group is also increased. The case is the same for original ads as well. These findings indicate that original ads and subvertisements, and these effects result in a change in a significant change in their Post Brand Attitudes affect the Terrorists-Rejecters Merged group. It should also be noted that original ads have a stronger positive effect on Post Brand Attitude.

We have decided to further investigate the results for the Rejecters group to see if there are major attitudinal differences between alcohol drinkers and non-alcohol drinkers. The results are as follows:

Results for the Non-Drinker Rejecters Group

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 33). At the .05 significance level, the t value is significant; therefore the null hypothesis can be rejected. This finding fails to support the hypothesis, H5.

Table 32 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .731$ $p < 0.01$) for the Non-Drinker Rejecters group. Thus, Post Brand Attitude relies heavily on Pre Brand Attitude for this group.

The results in Table 34 reveal that there is a no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude and no significant correlation for Post Brand Attitude for the Non-Drinker Rejecters group. These findings show that brand attitude for Absolut is not related to attitude for branded products for Pre Brand

Attitude. And after seeing the advertisements and subvertisements, non-drinkers in the Rejecters group do not base their attitudes on their attitudes toward branded products.

Table 35 results indicate that there is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude. However, Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score are significantly correlated to each other Attitude ($r = .478$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, as the Attitude Toward Subvertisements increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Non-Drinker Rejecters group is not affected. The case is different for original ads. When Attitude Toward Original Ads increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Non-Drinker Rejecters group increases significantly. These findings indicate that only original ads and these effects result in a change in a significant change in their Post Brand Attitudes affect this members of this group.

Results for the Drinker Rejecters Group

In order to test the hypothesis, a paired sample t-test was conducted (see Table 37). At the .05 significance level, the t value is significant ($t = 2.441$ $p < .05$); therefore the null hypothesis can be rejected. This finding fails to support the hypothesis, H5.

Table 36 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between the variables Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score ($r = .658$ $p < 0.01$) for the Drinker Rejecters group. Thus, Post Brand Attitude relies heavily on Pre Brand Attitude for this group.

The results in Table 38 reveal that there is no significant correlation between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude and no significant correlation for Post Brand Attitude for this group. These findings show that brand attitude for

Absolut is not related to attitude for branded products for neither Pre Brand Attitude nor Post Brand Attitude.

Table 39 results indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude ($r = .267$ $p < 0.01$). However, Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score are significantly correlated to each other Attitude ($r = .258$ $p < 0.01$). Thus, as the Attitude Toward Subvertisements increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Drinker Rejecters group is positively affected. The case is similar for original ads. When Attitude Toward Original Ads increase, the Brand Attitude for Absolut for the Drinker Rejecters group increases significantly. These findings indicate that the Drinker Rejecters group get affected both by original ads and subvertisements and these effects result in a change in a significant change in their Post Brand Attitudes.

Qualitative Analysis Results

This study investigates the industry professionals' perceptions of culture jammers and anti-branding communication messages created by culture jammers at Adbusters. In order to interpret and discuss the insights collected, Kozinets and Handelman's (2004) theoretical approach will be followed. We can conceptualize any social movement's ideology as consisting of three core representational elements, in which the movement's activists publicly portray their goal, themselves, and their adversary (Melucci 1989; Touraine 1981).

The main constructs that were revealed through the interviews will be evaluated in three groups.

- 1. Perception of Adbusters:** All the informants brought in visuals to describe the "brand perception" of Adbusters and Culture Jamming. These visuals lead to conversations that were about the general overview of how Adbusters and Culture Jamming is perceived from advertisers' point of view. Another major construct that arose was Adbusters' mission of being culture critics. Also, multitextuality of images that are used in culture jamming was discussed as well.
- 2. Adbusters' Work:** All the informants brought in visuals that represented Adbuster's work. Three major points were made about shock value, unrealistic dogmatic agenda and abstract, unclear communication.
- 3. Effective Jamming:** The natural progression of all the interviews resulted in the measures that need to be taken for culture jamming to be more effective, functional and helpful to society rather than being a nuisance. The major points raised were the need to

be focused on a clear and clean message, always thinking in terms of simplicity, creating a culture critic using imagination and cleverness which is finesse-driven and working with instead of fighting advertising in the meantime.

Perception of Adbusters

General Perceptions

One of the major ideas that stood out in the informants' descriptions of Adbusters and culture jamming was the good-evil dichotomy. Adbusters is thought to be an inherently well meaning but damaging construct. It is interesting that informants mentioned that they believe they are perceived as "evil" by culture jammers, however, they do not describe the activist group members as evil. This binary thinking can be clearly seen in the striking example was a description of one of the visuals (see Appendix E, visual 6):

This one to me is the epidemy of what Adbusters is. Like these two things to me they would look at and equate.

Is that a demon on the left?

Yes, that is the devil; that is Beelzebub. So...they would think of money as evil. Capitalism is evil. There is nothing to further being people self-sustaining. And how appropriate is that! The bad luck side up.

Another informant also touches on the good-evil binary thinking, evaluating the advertising industry with these terms. Her reflexive understanding of her position of power over the production of cultural codes is notable. She feels that she has power over meaning making in advertising and appreciated oppositional and critical views:

I fully support those things... By no means do I think advertising is inherently all good or inherently all evil and I think with anything there is good and bad and I think it does have a lot of impact in terms of culture and images that it puts out there, perpetuates stereotypes and all that kind of stuff. And I can justify being in it because I can have an impact on those things by being inside of the system. I fully support

and appreciate people who are on the outside looking at it and criticizing it. I've subscribed to Adbusters before. I think in any situation you're in whatever your field is it's good to know all the points of views out there and to be responsible with what you were given to do and whatever kind of power comes with that.

According to the informants, culture jammers are comprised of a small group of people who are on the fringe, catering marginal people similar to themselves who cultivate the organization. One informant's perception of the activists at Adbusters is significant (see Appendix E, visual 15):

These are fishes, all together going the same way with the draft. So I think what these guys, Adbusters is trying to go against the grain. And there might be two or three, but it's against the rest of the world. So, I think it's going to be very hard for them to succeed in their objective.

Similarly, one informant portrayed a typical culture jammer as an outsider to mainstream society with an individualistic style who opts for a distinctive anti-authoritarian approach in perceiving the world (see Appendix E, visual 26):

This guy is the guy when I think of punk. That is the image that comes into my head... He is kind of like the anti-authoritarian Chili's Worker. Like he has got his vest, he knows what he stands for, but look at all this flare. For as much as amongst that they the punks and the anti-authoritarian people like to live in, they sure like to display how individual they are...I don't know, but this guy is not going to go out and buy a Versace suit... There is a business here we actually work on, it is called Central Market...it is a place that was created to be kind of, you know, a specialty store. You can get stuff from Turkey. Anything you can think of. But, they know they already have foodies in their corner. They don't have to advertise to them, they don't have to appeal to them. They know they are going to come back. Again and again and again, buy some cool shit. Religiously shop there. They don't really need to talk to them. I think people that are this (points to visual) extreme, with this kind of mindset, Adbusters does not need to preach to you because they are going to say Amen. I agree. But it is these kinds of people at the grassroots level that spread that mentality. So, when they get this magazine, you know, they get something that speaks to that as long as it festers around the public, and gets out there, I think they think they are successful. I think he is from England, too.

Another informant talked about the readers of Adbusters very similarly to the above foodies. She also voices the idea that Adbusters caters to a fringe group and creates an environment for like-minded people to express their opinions and get reinforcements and feedback:

I think these are smaller rebellious expressions of people but they are not necessarily things that are going to change anybody or have a kind of a meaningful effect in the mass market. It is kind of reinforcing a set of beliefs among a specific group of people. And probably finding, almost finding more ways to prove their points over and over again. And this I kind of see as the Adbusters sort of group. I mean it is a magazine that has got sort of a set circulation, it is, you know, it is not going to branch out necessarily into the mass media, but it plays a role for keeping all those people with that the same sort of philosophy informed and together.

As we perceive culture jamming to be a new social movement of a critical audience to advertising messages, the magazine becomes an outlet and almost an agora to communicate their message. The audience participates in the meaning making process by utilizing the codes within connotative messages to talk back to media messages, thus creating an active audience. Readers as well as contributors of the subvertising text no longer feel “powerless in the face of ideology” (Radway, 1984, p. 6). As the belief of having power is reinforcement continues among the “fringe” active audience members, their hope of social change is also maintained. Similarly, when advertisers feel that they have power over advertising messages and believe that they can influence meaning making, their hope in the industry’s responsibility is maintained as well. Thus, advertising and subvertising seem to have a similar function of providing hope for their creators. Advertising provides advertisers with hopes of responsibility while subvertising provides culture jammers with hopes of social change.

Culture Critics

We have suggested that culture jammers practicing mass media critique can be viewed as spokespeople for postmodern era culture critics. They create an alternative consumer resistance media that replies back to the mass media messages based on existing media artifacts. One informant agreed with the idea that jamming creates a means to talk about issues that advertisers do not bring up. She talked about the culture jamming discourse on the iPod controversy⁷ about a two-year limited battery life for the product resulting in the need to purchase a new iPod at the end of its battery life:

It's interesting because it did make me stop and think as a consumer... You know, I think it's the one thing I like about any kind of Culture Jamming or Adbusters type thing is that it forces this conversation to happen and I think companies have had to reconcile the fact that they are going to be transparent now that people have more control and more access to information that it's really pretty hard to hide any kind of secret that you have. Sooner or later it is going to come out and you're going to have to deal with it. And so if this created a resolution or survival options in the marketplace for people, to me that's a good thing. You know I'm sure Apple didn't like being targeted, but at the same time if they're not really being responsible to their audience, then they kind of deserve it. You know I think as a company, you know, I think respecting your consumers is a big deal. And I think there's a lot of ways you can do that, especially in terms of the products you deliver, and making sure it's going to live up to people's expectations and not having respect for the people who give their money in return of a product is kind of the worst thing you can do as a company.

Another example of culture jammers acting as culture critics was as follows (see

Appendix E, visual 32):

You can usually think about stamps being, the images they choose being very indicative of culture and this that are of historical importance and beauty. And in this one they created a stamp with viagra pills on it which to me would say something about how as a culture how obsessed we are with sex and youth and beauty and that's probably something we value more than maybe history or patriotism or the kind of things you find on stamps, important historical figures, things like that. So that was

⁷ www.ipoddirtysecret.com

kind of another theme.

Another informant also talked about an example of culture criticism disseminated by critics about advertising undermines character and strengthens individualism and attention to one's own interests. She believes that advertising is not as influential in forming consumer interests. She believes that advertising does not change consumer's product choices, but merely attempts to change their brand choices (see Appendix E, visual 13):

This is an image of people, like all of them picked up a different card for example. They all have a picture of their favorite cars. So I think this is an example of how everyone chooses what they like no matter what. They think advertising has a lot of influence however, personal passion and personal taste influences more than advertising. And everyone is different because of that. I think Adbusters, they are telling all the people to be the same, but I think people are different anyway. There's a product for everyone and advertising for everyone.

The informants agreed that culture jamming is cultural criticism, and they almost always provided a counter point defending advertising's point of view about the criticism at hand. When an informant was answering a question on whether it is harder for Adbusters to change his mind or get across their message to him since he is already against their message from the start, his remarks were very reminiscent of a postmodernist survival strategy (Plant, 1999) developed due to the failure to transform the society. As he explained how consumption criticism and especially ethical controversies in advertising affected him, he mentioned the need to accept the realities of the industry if one desires to work in advertising:

Well, I wasn't against their message at the very beginning. And I wanted to change majors. But it wasn't because of Adbusters really. It's because of another course I might have taken or what they offer in school. It's like the Ethics in Advertising and it's bringing up those things like advertising cigarettes and advertising burgers.

Things that are instruments to people's own self-destruction. You have to advertise. You can stand by your ideals, and ride your high horse not dodge, or you can play the game that everybody wants to play which is advertising, do these cool jobs and wear these things to work (shows his flip-flops) and just suck it up and try to be as responsible as you can.

Multitextuality of images

We have identified one of the terms that culture jammers use when describing their activities as semiological guerilla warfare (Eco, 1986). The core concept behind this idea is to use an image or a message with multiple possibilities for interpretation and deliver it in a counter-hegemonic manner. One informant talked about this concept in the work of Adbusters (see Appendix E, visual 20):

This reminds me of Adbusters... Obviously, there's a conflict of interest. The fact that a magazine is, or any news organization is to some extent putting in their opinions about whether or not something is wrong is a conflict of interest for a news organization. In the same way that the last image reminds me of Adbusters, this also would in that if I were to see a story in Adbusters regarding war, I could easily see any of those images being played inside that story. And to that extent, I think that maybe this image with the tank and the smoke obviously with any photograph again you can read into it what you will, you're not there so you have no idea... I have no idea if this is a rescue mission or if this is you know people getting killed. And the fact is I would tend to think that Adbusters would go toward the extreme rather than the sincere. And I think to this extent, the Time cover maybe the same thing. I know that Time is definitely trying to be sincere in some fashion. They're trying to establish some sort of morale, yeah morale, in what we're doing and some sort of justification to the people that read Time. I can see Adbusters quickly taking that and switching over in favor of their own agenda.

He gave another example of guerilla semiotics, the techniques used to decipher the systems of signification of Coca Cola to be used as anti-brand rhetoric. It is interesting to see that as he was explaining how the meaning of the message was not influential, he re-evaluated his reading of the message, negotiated with it and opted to discuss the preferred reading for the subvertisement (see Appendix E, visual 23):

The Coca Cola one does kind of remind me of a message, like, I could actually see Adbusters doing this, and putting it on their cover. And while I think it's a catchy idea, I think the message itself is maybe not necessarily – I don't know, this may be one of those that I could go either way because I could see, if you place this ad somewhere that you could actually think, "Yeah, Coca Cola does own a lot, maybe we should, you know, watch what they're doing", but on the other hand, it's not going to stop Coca Cola from buying stuff and it's not going to stop them from advertising. If anything, it's going to give Coca Cola ad execs more ideas (laughs). It's, like, a blimp, why didn't I think of that?

One informant's discussion of the Corporate Signs Project is another instance where using the codes of commercial ideology to develop a counter-hegemonic discourse is clearly evident (see Appendix E, visual 25):

There's this thing called illegal art. It's sort of like a collection of different kind of renegade artists who some of which are commenting on commercial culture and advertising. One of them is this whole Corporate Signs Project where these two artists took pretty recognizable logos and signs and then altered the words behind them. So, I believe that's like the IBM sign and which they replaced the word trust...It sort of goes again to expose what it is that that company is trying to sell you, or what it is that they want from you. You know, whether or not that's a good thing is kind of up to whoever is looking at it, but I think it points to the fact that rather than companies trying to sell you products that they're trying to sell you this emotion or this feeling which to the people who are culture jammers is a negative thing and that borders on manipulation and exploitation.

Through the above cases, we can understand the mechanism of culture jamming as a way of subversive re-meaning of existing commercial codes.

Adbusters' Work

Another construct that we will be investigating is the characteristics of the work of Adbusters. All informants discussed various elements in Adbusters' communication messages and three main ideas surfaced. According to the informants, subvertisements created by Adbusters are abstract and unclear and use shock value to promote an unrealistic and dogmatic agenda.

Shock Value

It was pointed out that he thinks most of what Adbusters is about shocking their readers:

In a lot of ways, the smartest advertising, the smartest stories, the smartest writing, politicians, they make their point being clued into all sides of story and being able to be more finesse about their answers. It's one thing to yell out exactly what you think to a whole audience who, you know, may or may not believe you, it's another to instill trust that audience and lead them where you want them to go. I don't think that as far as Adbusters is concerned, I don't think that they care about the finesse so much; they care more about the shock.

Why do you think that is?

Well, because time and time again, if you look through history that there are people who tend to be shock artists who tend to scream loudly in the theatre "Fire fire" and everybody looks. Well, you're going to get people's attention that way and they want the attention because that's going to somehow get them more readers and more face time that way, but the end result is they're not going to change anything because of that. All they're going to do is say "Look we're radical, we want you to understand this, but we're not going to take the time to get you behind us, you know. That's the problem I think.

He believes that what Adbusters' is doing currently is not constructive, but it is more important to execute projects that are more beneficial to society:

They're messages for the sake of the messages without really stopping to think about how to best get your message across. You know, like I said it's one thing to stand up in a theatre and yell "Fire" and get everybody to look at you, and it's another to help people get out of the theatre. And do something constructive.

It is a powerful image that shows how Adbusters gets the attention it requires, yet the informant believes that they do not deliver any results. One of his visuals was a group of naked protesters with messages on their bodies (see Appendix E, visual 18):

Shock value. I don't think it does a lot of good. I could certainly respect these people for what they're doing. They've put messages on top of themselves and they've gone out to advertise what they're thinking. The subsequent four pictures of them getting arrested and taken off. There's not much to it. I mean it's eight nine people standing in the street that got taken off. Sure I agree that we should drop the dead, we should stop AIDS. But I'm not sure standing in the middle of the street naked is the way to do it.

And this is similar to Adbusters in what way?

It's similar to Adbusters in that it tries to do something with no finesse. It tries to shock people into thinking of a problem that – you know, everybody you go out and ask is going to say “yeah we should stop AIDS”, but you're not going to get them to actually do something about it by standing in the middle of the street naked.

Similarly, if you care about corporations - If Shell does an ad about how great gas is and Adbusters puts it in a magazine and says and writes in their crude black and white handwriting on top of it “Don't read this ad if you care about your environment”, let's say that, the fact is that... they're not going to change anybody's opinion by just writing their opinion on an ad. They might change people's perceptions if they were to come back with their own commercial maybe, or their own print ad run in the same publication, you know. Here's one position, here's Shell's position, here's why maybe there's another side to the story. You know, be more proactive as someone who cares about the position they're trying to accomplish rather than just shocking people into acknowledging that there's a problem.

One informant described the work that Adbusters puts out as “maybe like alcohol, it's kind of strong, it kind of wakes you up or it's so strong that it's disturbing sometimes. Some of them are pretty good, as far as I remember, like they make you laugh or so, however, the purpose of it is not so good.” There is a clear element of shock in the metaphor of alcohol as she mentions how it wakes one up. Although informants identified shock value as a major characteristic in culture jamming work, they believe these communication messages fail to have an impact. One informant categorized her images as “rebellious expression” and these were examples of subvertisements that she believed were not influential:

I think these are the least powerful. I think because they are really harsh, probably come off as angry and sort of insulting. I mean if you buy Starbucks and someone wants you to think of a different way about it attacking them that viciously is just going to cause them to kind of shut down and defend their behavior. Because they have already justified it to themselves. It is easy to write this off as sort of “oh-fringe-lunatic-whatever.

Adbusters' communication messages seem not to have any strong impact on advertising professionals due to their inappropriate use of their core characteristic, shocking the reader.

Unrealistic Dogmatic Agenda

One informant's image of culture jammers at Adbusters comprises of people who are determined to say what is on their minds and who would not be swayed by external factors (see Appendix E, visual 10):

Whoever creates that are people who like to establish their point of view no matter what everyone else says. These two are kind of weird like them. And I'm sure these are the kind of glasses they wear.

Another informant also believes that culture jammers are a marginal group of people who believe in an ideology and would do everything in their power to get their message disseminated:

I think they play...a role in being kind of on the fringe, kind of on the 'we're going to say and do anything regardless of what the end result is in order to move things along' which I think if done right is a good thing, but if done wrong is not so great...I mean they're not hurting people, but at the same time they're just going about things so to an extreme sometimes that...they're not reaching their end goal by doing so. What do you think is their main goal?
I think. It's kind of hard to say. I think they have a mantra of wanting to be anti-establishment... They want to tear down corporations without understanding the role corporations play in the world. They just want to do it because they are corporations more than anything.

Yet another informant discussed the importance of self-censorship and being responsible in messages delivered to the consumers. As Adbusters' goal is to disseminate their agenda, they do not see a reason in censoring their messages and believe that it is in the consumers' benefit to expose corporations. However, from an advertising professional's point of view, such discourse seems to be dogmatic (see Appendix E, visual 9):

I did this one thing; it is a studio promotion... it is like a weird thing that went on a sticker. Freezer in a grocery store, this sticks on it. We thought of this cool line I guess... "For the Independent Party." That is for Shiner beer. Shiner is kind of an underdog beer. They do not have the money that Budweiser does obviously and they cannot spend like them to get in the consumers' face, but I kind of think that it was like a brand that really did not need advertising, too. Because people really drink this stuff because they love it... We thought it was not for like an appletini and golf kind of person, or a Martha Stewart potluck party. It is more Barton Springs Pool; it is more hanging out on the porch and drinking beer. It is not about ginseng in beer, putting raspberry in beer, or all the pretentious stuff that comes with beer that is made by Czechs and stuff. So, we just thought it was like an underdog kind of beer, so we came up with that line, but then we realized that we were in fact Adbusting ourselves. We want to get people to drink our beer and further our brand, but by doing that and convincing them to think that they are in fact independent, even though we want them to think like us, we knew that it was flawed.

Flawed in the sense that?

Flawed in the sense that we were Adbusting ourselves. Like in the sense that we cannot put a message out there like you said to get people to conform to our ideas, or to think like that. It just did not fit the brand. But to us, as advertisers, just as stupid creative guys, we could kind of self-censor ourselves. Like not put it out there, not take it to a client meeting, because we knew that. Adbusters does not give a damn; they will just do it. It is like there is no consequence.

But then, they do want the consequences.

I do not think it is socially responsible.

How do you mean?

I do not think it is appropriate to... well... I think it is that kind of throwing stuff out there in the ether that really does not help anything. It just further complicates human interactions and human beliefs. What people stand for... I think it is the duty of people who want to have their magazine or publication accredited and taken seriously to self-manage and self-censor. Figuring out what is proper and what is not proper to put out there for people to digest. Because about 90% of the people out there will not formulate their opinions based on their own epiphany. They will do it based on somebody else's agenda they agree with... So can you see how it might be bad to say things? It is like taking The Onion seriously for everything they write, even though somebody in Kentucky probably does that. I don't know, but they need to be smarter about this stuff they publish.

Culture jamming inherently is in disagreement with existing norms and values. It is

interesting to observe that even though the informant talked about the inappropriateness

of putting an advertising message to influence consumers to conform to their ideas; that is

exactly what he does through his advertising practice. Advertising as an institution plays

a role in the marketing of consumer goods. Advertising as an industry on the other hand manufactures the cultural products called advertisements and commercials. Advertising as a meta-narrative is system of symbols that disseminates a pervasive and bold propaganda for consumer culture (Shudson, 1984). As culture jamming is identified as having a dogmatic agenda, the same can be said about advertising.

Since culture jammers do not abide by the norms of advertisers, their work can be characterized as emancipatory practices for Habermas's concept of decolonization of the lifeworld. In order to achieve the goal of opposing the advertising meta-narrative, Adbusters creates subvertisements and attempts to democratize communication by creating stereo dialogues rather than the mono channels of corporate mass media. They advocate a universal right to communicate which implies a responsibility to listen as well as to access the means of mass communication.

Abstract, Unclear Communication

All informants discussed that Adbusters communication strategy focuses on being very abstract. Instead of having a focused, simple, clean and clear message, the subvertisements are abstract and unclear. One example explain the informants' sentiments best (see Appendix E, visual 1):

But right now that is what Adbusters is. It's very abstract. And you want to look for meaning in this... This could be a spread in Adbusters and people would nod their heads for some reason and I am just left scratching it. Because I don't know, I mean you've got my attention, now say more things that are relevant. But it's hard for me to find relevance in this or in that publication because I'm already against them ideologically.

Effective Jamming

The last construct that will be discussed are the strategies of creating effective culture jamming communication.

Focused and clear message

All informants felt that Adbusters needed to tackle one issue at a time and disseminate focused messages that are clear and easily understandable if they want to succeed in being influential culture critics. One informant explained what he would like Adbusters to be more like:

I will describe one thing that I didn't find an image for. And that's the truth campaign, the cigarette truth campaign which I feel reminds me in a lot of ways about Adbusters, but reminds me of what I would like to see Adbusters more like. The truth campaign comes across as being very specific in what it's targeting, and doing it in such a way that it's showing results, and I don't know how to explain it so much as it has a very direct path towards something everybody perceives as being a problem. And everybody who watches those ads knows what the problem is and can identify with it. So to that aspect, that's the first thing that I thought about.

Another informant reiterated the importance of a simple, focused and clear message:

I think it's easier for me to understand a clean clear message they say. When it is presented that way in a magazine, nine times out of ten it is not, but when they do present it, I am more than able to understand what they're saying because I've been down that path of re-evaluation. But since I've done that, since I've tried it, it's really harder for me to drop what I'm doing now, to give this lavish lifestyle up to pawn all my bling and desert my desires and what I want to do. But I think it's easier to empathize with them with a clear message.

Having a creative aspect to the clever message is important in its effectiveness was discussed with this image (see Appendix E, visual 18):

This circulated on the Adlist. I thought it was really clever. Again, like the iPod ad, something that I thought was a clever way of delivering a message. There's not much I can say about it because it's basically the same one as the iPod thing. I think that Adbusters if they really cared about what they wanted to do, they would switch up what they're doing. The one thing I've noticed about Adbusters is, like I picked up

the last issue, and there were no ads of their own. It was all handwriting on other people's ads. And that doesn't seem like that's being very creative about the market. Maybe try and lead by example? You know, if I saw this in a magazine, I'd think "Yeah that's really clever. Yes, I get it. You know, transport for London, ok, yeah, I'd much rather not have to park anyway. But the fact is that if I see an ad with handwriting on it criticizing it,...something like "If you think this way, you shouldn't read this ad." I was like, well, ok, so you're asking me to read the ad so when I read your message, I'll understand what you're trying to say or I shouldn't be reading? Or, you know, it's just not the right way of attacking them. Or just not even attacking, so much as changing people's ideas.

Simplicity

Another major point that came into light about effective culture jamming was the need for a simple way of communicating the message. Informants felt that in order for the jam to be successful, it needs to contain a simple message, which enables the reader to fully understand the meaning behind the communication. One informant discussed an example of a simple message (see Appendix E, visual 35):

There's this website called storyabout.net, and it has this type drawing exercise. It was really the story of the year this year. And on it, has about 25 or 26 some examples of typography being used to create imagery. This one is the one that is most poignant. Again, this reminds me of, as with all of these, it reminds me of Adbusters because it has some sort of message. However, unlike Adbusters, I really like this because it's a very subtle message. The fact is that it's a little peace ribbon made by little peace ribbons and the message love is obvious. It's probably the most simplistic piece on this site. These things animate down. They start off and animate like you would actually be drawing them. As far as being an interesting design, and an interesting thought-out, I'm not even sure if this was thought so much as just done, but it's one of these things that says it and says it well. And it's what I wish Adbusters would be.

And why?

Because I don't think that anybody's using advertising in a clever manner to... Look what I do for a living, I try and persuade people with visuals... One of the best things you can do is get one message on that visual so that it only takes one second and you got it. Like this (shows Appendix E, visual 35) this takes five seconds and I've got it. And you can really get such a persuasive argument with stuff like that. That's one of the things I like about the Truth campaign is that it's not geared towards anything but one specific agenda. And it goes about it in clever ways. And I think that Adbusters is too broad, it's going about its business with too broad a hand, it's trying to attack

too many things. The reality is they could do a lot more if they were maybe a little more behind advertising itself, you know, instead of trying to be the anti-brand. By nature of being the anti-brand they've branded themselves, which is kind of backwards. And not what they want to accomplish I think.

Another informant also expressed the need for simplicity in communication messages

(see Appendix E, visual 4):

I choose this thing mainly because of the name. But, also because of the simplicity of the design. This to me aesthetically just says, you know, utility. It is not lavish; it is not really flashy. It is functional. You know what it is. It works. It is Pink Floydish. You know what I mean? It is not an Aiwa speaker system, or a JBL system. But this to me is more about the mentality than that giant Bose stereo thing. That is more like your Kayla's or your Kristin's and your varsity cheerleaders. That is what Adbusters needs to be doing.

Imagination and cleverness

Informants expressed that an effective subvertisements has to be imaginative and clever.

They see it as an essential requirement for creativity and stressed that from an

advertiser's point of view a communication message should be creative in order to be

respected by the industry and to attract attention. During the discussion of an image,

which depicts pills with a phone number on them, the focus was on imagination (see

Appendix E, visual 27):

This is a concept artist guy or a website where they do these future postcards, like what could possibly happen in your future. The pills kind of take the idea of, you know, right now say you're in a band or you're someone who thinks they can get advertising out of bars and you can put your name on a matchbook or hand out a business card at a meeting. I think this is just a clever way of conveying a message. Ok, here's a new way that you could actually advertise to someone. I think it's smartly done. I could actually see it happening, you know. I don't know that it reminds me so much of Adbusters in a message more than it makes me think of smart advertising versus shock. It makes me think of abusing advertising in a smart way to deliver a message. If I take pills and I need to know who to call to get more pills that's one way. That's ninety business cards in a little bottle. I think that's smart, that's using your environment wisely.

One informant touched on Adbusters culture jammers being warriors against creativity.

She believes that building a message through the destruction of another creative message is not right (see Appendix E, visual 14):

This is like a warrior. So, for me, this guy whoever participates in that are warriors against creativity and against branding. I think they should do something more positive instead of just making a critique and negative points of view about how to make brands.

You said they're against creativity. Do you think what they're creating is creative? It's negative creative. And when you're destroying someone else's creativity that doesn't seem right to me. But that's my point of view.

On the contrary, one informant believes that using an existing brand message and decoding it to use and manipulating its systems of signification and codes in order to create a message of guerilla semiotics would be beneficial for Adbusters (see Appendix E, visual 17):

This one is, I forget the website, but the website is dedicated to how bad a company Apple is. And in similar fashion, taking Apple's own advertising, twisting and making something new out of it. I think this represents something what I wish Adbusters would be more like. The fact is that this is taking advertising that's already out there and a style that is already out there and trying to voice an opinion to people who will already – face it that the iPod ads are pretty cool, that's a pretty cool idea and it's a pretty stylistic one and you know exactly what you're looking at every time you see it – by nature of that by having by being able to tell a message with the same style I think is - it's going to get more recognition. I could see this ad being placed in front of Steve Jobs and him actually looking at it and saying “Oh, that's kind of an interesting ad.” I don't think it's going to change him per se, but the idea is correct, the application is correct. It's actually headed down the right path I think.

The discussion of subverted corporate logos is similar to the above informant's ideas on the issue of creativity (see Appendix E, visual 31):

There were a couple of examples of this that I was trying to find. It's the whole idea of subverted corporate logos. And this was the one example I could find which is the Starbucks', which is converted into a Consumer Whore. There were others I remember. My brother used to have these logos, he's four years younger than me, and this was years ago, but they were these screen printed shirts, there would be

different logos that would be adjusted like this, but there was like a New York Peppermint Patty done to say Dork, there was a Dairy Queen logo that had been redone to say Fairy Queen. All those kinds of things I always actually have liked. I thought they were funny, I thought they were interesting ways of pointing out different issues and kind of making people do some sort of double take on what they're used to seeing and what they're used to thinking about when they see that. I think almost in a way to catch people off guard you know you kind of safely reel in someone thinking that they were looking at one thing and then make a comment or try to provoke a thought about something else.

One informant summed up the importance of using creativity, imagination and cleverness in communication messages in the advertising industry as follows:

I think my biggest thing is if you're going to go about in advertising,... if it's either criticism or as an advertising person yourself, you have to be creative first and foremost. You're not going to gain respect by the people you're talking to unless you have some sort of opinion about what you want to voice, about what you want to say. And this guy in particular, he's very creative and that's first and foremost he's out there doing his thing.

Finesse-driven

Another characteristic of creating effective culture jamming communication messages was expressed as being finesse-driven. This quality was discussed:

Making something that's more finesse driven, more smart, that's more able to put your opinion across in a way that your audience is going to get it. Like I said, Adbusters is not doing anything particularly creative. In a lot of ways they remind me of Greenpeace. They remind me of an organization that's out there kind of throwing caution to the wind to try and get a message across, when really they're hurting as much as they're helping.

Hurting? In what sense?

Well... I'm not sure if they're hurting so much, as they're not out there trying to put themselves in a position where they can change. And I think, when you go on their website their mantra is like "We stand for change, we stand for the downfall of corporations." It's, like, do you really understand your world around you? Do you really understand what makes a business deal happen? It's one thing to demonize Microsoft as this one huge corporation, it's a different one to turn around and say look at every step along the way where they've made something better. Yes, sure they've got quite a control on a lot of stuff, but at the same time they're not out there actively take away your freedom. You know, if anything, they're a corporation, they're a business, and like any other business you have to do certain things to grow

and to survive. So, can you really fault them for that? If you want to change their message, then you can't just sit out there and say no they're wrong. You've got to give people something else.

One informant mentioned humor as a way of creating a graceful delivery of subvertising messages (see Appendix E, visual 34):

I like the postcards because I think they are humorous and they are a fun way to get across this sentiment and it is easy for people to share and even kind of identify with. It sort of validates an idea that they might already have as opposed to trying to trying to get someone to change their mind and invalidate a thought that they might already have.

Working with instead of fighting advertising

All informants talked about the need for culture jammers and critics of advertising to make peace with advertising professionals in order to work together to achieve results that would better the society. They all seemed to make a point of working together with the critics, to understand their concerns and accommodate them as much as possible in the areas that are of concern to many. One informant's (see Appendix E, visual 3) Foyer idea is probably the best way of describing the idea of working together, since all parties will be out of their own ideological surroundings and enter in a neutral area:

I brought my Michael Moore book. And just like an American, I stopped reading after page 78. It wasn't because I didn't agree with the message, it's because the movie came out. And I was told that it's about the same thing, so I went to go see the movie. Anyways, this represents to me something that I myself as an anti-Adbuster, or born-again anti-Adbuster I guess I could say, and the Adbuster can maybe meet at that foyer. And yes they like to culture jam and yes I like to advertise, but if you take away those two things and you try to find a place where the two of us can meet in the middle - I think politics is a good example, sport is another good example, wine – all those things that make you human- but I think that we could both agree on something like this, either pro or against Bush, but probably more against I'm going to wager to say. So I think while there's this kind of thing and Fahrenheit 9/11, and there's these kinds of anti-messages that consumers latch onto who aren't afraid to shop at HEB and wear a Tommy Hillfiger polo shirt. They can do that, feel good about themselves

and stay under the radar, but there's also an adbuster that can do the same thing. Hate everything that you stand for they hate Bush too, and maybe that's a reason to like them.

Another informant mentioned that it would be more beneficial for culture jammers to work with advertising rather than oppose it:

The reality is they could do a lot more if they were maybe a little more behind advertising itself, you know, instead of trying to be the anti-brand. By nature of being the anti-brand they've branded themselves, which is kind of backwards. And not what they want to accomplish I think.

Current condition

One of the goals for the study was to get insights on how advertising professionals perceive the effects of culture jamming practices. To understand this, the informants were asked to discuss if they think culture jamming communication messages work. One informant discussed a possible message that would be effective as a culture jam would have a solid message behind it and an obvious controversy. He talked about a Honda ad that depicts "how great gas is" (see Appendix E, visual 16):

And you know that's exactly the point though is that here Honda's created an ad, in the advertising world has got a lot of praise. It's well done, it really is. You know, I don't doubt that someone could do an ad about the worst thing possible and if it was done right it would win awards. If there was ever a point in time when they could use their reader base to change a person's message about advertising, it would be at something like that. They would be "Hey wait a second, you just watched this ad and so many people thought it was great but do you really get the message behind it? Here's what it is, go back and look at it again, you know." Don't try and shock people into changing, that won't work. You've got to get behind them before you make a difference.

Similarly, another informant gave the example of another possible effective culture jam case when she talked about Joe Camel:

The other the thing that gets a lot of heat is Joe Camel. I think that's a case where there is a little bit more of a case to be made because you have a product that is very

specifically for people of a certain age. And that is harmful, potentially harmful depending on who you're talking to. And they have more than one way to communicate something. They don't have to use a cartoon. There are definitely alternative ways to get that message across that aren't going to be really all confusing in terms of who they're talking to and who they're trying to appeal to. Yes, cartoons can appeal to adults and we know that, but it's also a pretty fuzzy line because that's essentially kids' territory. So I would see that as being a better case for manipulation than just the fact that someone has a well cool-designed logo for a product that kids use and so they're naturally start making that connection.

Thus, informants believe that in order for culture jamming communications to work,

the cause has to be a universally agreed controversy rather than a marginal issue.

Remarks on whether culture jamming works or not were reminiscent of a postmodernist

survival strategy (Plant, 1999) developed due to the failure to transform the society:

I think their ideas are good. I just do not think it fits this society. You cannot really change a democracy, or the government, unless you are George Bush. But I think... This is where I am going with this. It is valuable to have freedom of speech in this country because it gives you a platform to speak your mind. And probably nowhere else could they get away with this. Like I do not know if this was in Iran that would work, if it was in China that would work, or North Korea. So I think it is valuable to have that. I think what they are missing here and a lot of people are missing here with the way they vote is that you really cannot change a regime once it is established. At least I do not think you can. Even though. Well, you can, it just takes a revolution. I do not think you can do that by convincing people that they should not buy Tropicana orange juice and they should go down and squeeze their own. That is not a big enough of a call of action. If there was Depression, if there was slavery, if people were being taken out of their homes, those are big human quandaries that socially you would want to squash and make better. But I think consumerism is not that, it cannot be. I mean it is why our country is the way it is, you know being good or bad, but that is kind of the way it is. So, I do not think that getting people to responsibly consume is that impactful of a message to give. People do not reevaluate their ideologies and beliefs. Although I value and respect having the balls to say it. Then again anyone can because it is a free country.

One informant's discussion on the effectiveness of culture jamming revealed that she

believes brand loyal consumers would not be swayed by their brand choices by being

exposed to culture jamming communication messages. She speculated that one group of consumers culture jamming might affect was the young adults:

I think it probably works more as an expression of a certain group's frustrations with things than it does to create mass change. Cause people who like Starbucks and go get Starbucks everyday I doubt are going to be dissuaded by someone's logo or someone's comment. I'm pretty sure everybody who shops at Starbucks knows that there's somebody who hates it and thinks that it's an evil empire and why would anybody pay five dollars for coffee? They bought into it at that point and they've justified it to themselves either because it is a treat or indulgence that they believe the quality is worth it. There's probably a smaller group of kind of people who are on the fence who may be able to be influenced and I would guess that is probably a younger group of people. I think about in my life when these sort of issues came to mind and you're developing who you are as a person and it seems to be this very sort of idealistic stage as you move out of the innocence of childhood into the reality of the world and you are trying to reconcile those things. You want everything to be the way it should be have not quite figured out the fact that it's not always going to be like that. And so, I think you would be much more sensitive to issues whether it is anti-capitalism, or feminism, or animal rights or whatever it is and that's probably where I would say culture jammers would have a bigger effect. And then I think there is going to be a few cases where the point that they are making is so strong that it is going to have an impact. I think about that iPod thing. That actually had a pretty mass issue for a lot of people and got a lot of coverage. And you know rather than bringing Apple down, and getting rid of iPods, it created a solution which, you know, maybe that was good enough for them maybe not, but it did kind of resolve an issue that I think was big enough that it could not be ignored by Apple. It had to be addressed, so in that sense it was effective. But a lot of other times, it is more support for a certain group of people's philosophies and ways of living, which is totally fine. You know just like any kind of advertising and brand that expresses people's ideas about their life and their lifestyle. It is another form of that. It just happens to be counter to the mainstream.

Just in line with these speculations about the target group who would be affected by culture jamming messages, another informant (see Appendix E, visual 5) explains how he first was introduced to Adbusters:

When I first picked up an Adbusters, it was kind of in the section at Barnes and Noble that has a bunch of communal type of publications. They don't really put it next to time for a reason. That's probably bad for them, but it was next to a Zendik Farm. Can you explain what it is?

Zendik Farm is basically a pulp rag that a commune in the northwest makes and it's got a bunch of folk art in it, poetries about rainbows and unicorns and I was like what is Adbusters, I've never heard about that. When I picked it up, it was when I was at school. I started flipping through it; I was like this is a cool rag, this Zendik Farm thing. I was like dude, I bet Jewel could get published in here easy. I was mellow and happy, saw Adbusters and picked it up. I was already in this kind of mindset (shows Appendix E, visual 5)

What is that, a tree hugger person?

It's a tree hugger. So, I was kind of already open-minded. I listened to Balthazar of the northwest commune to talk about how their regenerative hydration processes really further soil contents and compromise the composting business. I was really open to ideas at that point. I was put in the mood and had a flow going, so I picked up Adbusters. I was like you know what this is sick what we're doing. How can we as people just try and get people to consume? And I was kind of put off by it. I think it resurged maybe two years ago. We won a big fast food burger chain, which coincided with my old partner and all his propaganda that he pushed on me. But you know it was really appropriate at the time because we have a social responsibility as an agency not to promote obesity, even though we won't come out and say that.

On the other hand, another informant is very skeptical of culture jamming

communications' impact. He suggests that instead of trying to transform the society by subverting commodity signs individually, it might be more effective to lobby and move into the political arena:

I'm not sure if it would work. You know, companies need advertising. And to that effect whether or not an Adbusters could be out there and actually change anybody's mind is not going to be so much attacking advertising as it is going to be attacking the message behind advertising. To which maybe they'd be better served by hiring lobbyists, you know.

Corporate Responsibility

The discussion of corporate responsibility emerged as the informants scratched under the surface of the culture jamming sore. The discussion of McDonald's and health and obesity issues is notable in that as an advertising professional she identified the potential problem and because "getting rid of the iconography altogether" is not feasible

due to postmodernist survival strategy (Plant, 1999) advertisers seem to follow, she brought up corporate responsibility as a solution:

You know there is all this talk about marketing to kids and there always has been and with all these health and obesity issues, especially with something like McDonald's. To me, the only way to get around that is to get rid of the iconography altogether, which doesn't make sense. You have to have that to communicate. If you look overall at the percentage of people you're communicating to it's probably mostly adults. I mean I cannot speculate as to the intent of those people putting together those campaigns. Any logo is put together and meant to be a very quickly recognized symbol of a product because you have to have that instant communication. Probably in the way you place those images, I think you can have more responsibility. I mean if you're plastering Golden Arches all over kids' programming and nowhere else, then that is being pretty obvious that you're trying to manipulate or at least elicit a specific response from a specific group of people. You know, the fact that McDonald's is a restaurant and has to have signage and people are going to go there, a natural response is going to occur.

One informant's discussion of corporate responsibility is more realistic and reflexive in that he acknowledges problems openly. He believes that the consumers have the power to make purchase decisions that contribute to the problem or not:

Whataburger doesn't condone obesity and working really hard to fight it. So, come on in and add bacon for an extra twenty-five cents. It's such a contradictory message. And to get people not to eat burgers altogether would sink the company. You can't really say it. I'm not sure if it's the right thing to do is not to say it because there are issues that need to be dealt with. But you find different things to communicate to make a brand better by not talking about the evils of the brand. Nobody wants to advertise the fact that Nike is made in the Philippines for the most part. Maybe Adbusters. But everyone knows it if you think about it. Everybody knows it. And I don't know if it's apathy, or maybe a feeling of hopelessness that they can't really do anything.

Helplessness that they can't really do anything?

Here's what I am saying. Dana Carvey knew that Philippino children made Nike tennis shoes. All of Saturday Night Live knew it, all of America knew it... Time did an expose on it. It's been in so many papers, it's like an old joke. I think conversely, a new and old joke, is that if you think about the Sally Struthers thing, and how if you put aside twenty cents a day to save someone, and they show you a picture that's not great advertising. It's a simple message and it communicates a message and it gives you a way, a means to do something. And it's just a simple phone number, that's all it is. You decide whether to call or not, you're going to pick that up and donate. You

decide whether that money is going to go to that baby in Angola or Sally Struthers is going to take it to the next Las Vegas buffet. But at least there's a means to do something. There's no Phillippino Kids Save Me society.

So since they're not organized in the American culture, it's ok for people to ignore what's going on?

Well, I think that's maybe the next step for Adbusters. They have all this message and all of this propaganda, but it really doesn't seem organized and it doesn't seem like they could do anything unite folks now other than just get their heads nodding. But then again, maybe that's what their goal is short term. This could be stage one sixty years. Part of the thinking of these types of people (shows picture of soviet flag) is that they're not afraid to die and have their legacy carried on with other folks as long as people do. That's not important than achieving that no matter how long it takes. So they could be at a very infantile stage, maybe.

Similarly, another informant (see Appendix E, visual 33) talked about a new product,

TV-B-Gone, and ties it to the idea of the culture jamming movement being at it's

infantile stages:

This is a product that I have read about a couple of times and it is called TV-B-Gone. It is this little gadget that this guy I guess has the codes to a thousand different TV's, so if you are in a bar or airport or someplace where the TV is on and you can hit this and supposedly it is going to turn it off. So it is literally taking a communication method of culture away from people. I don't know how I feel about it. I mean I certainly understand the impulse to want to sort of unplug every once in a while. I don't know if that is something you can force on other people. I mean, I would be interested to see if this even goes anywhere, does anything. I have not heard anything actually being used. Everything I hear about it is sort of "oh my god there's this device, people are going to turn off TV's, how are they going to watch our ads." It is kind of in the same panic, it is like Tivo, Satellite Radio and all these kind of things. Whether that changes behavior, I don't know, but I think the sentiment that it conveys is probably more important than whether or not it actually gets used that it is saying people are too stimulated and that you need to respect my rights and my time, my space and my time. And I don't want to be overloaded with everything and if you do that to me I am just going to resent you and I am going to try and find a way to get rid of it. Why as an advertiser we would want to be in that situation, I don't know... Obviously you would want to be in places where nobody else is, no other advertising competition, because then you stand out more. Which leads you to start going down these paths of ok where are there no ads- can we get on school buses, can we get on... Urinals, where it is not standardized yet. I see the value in trying to do that obviously. But I think you have to weigh that against people's reaction to it and does it even make sense for something to be there? It could make perfect sense for there to be public restroom advertising if it is about toilet paper or something to do with the

context, but if you are trying to sell them... laundry detergent, then that is just so out of place that it is almost hard to see it as anything but offensive. It is just a blatant attempt to get my attention in a place where I used to not have to worry about that. So I think it is kind of a fine line that you have to walk. To me that is the value of paying attention to any kind of anti-advertising culture jamming sentiment because it may not be the majority of the people that feel that way, but it is certainly a current in culture. There may be enough of something there that at least hints at a potential for other people to feel about. Maybe it will take ten fifteen years before people completely lose it and start running up to TV's in public places and turning them off, and this is just a seed of that sentiment now. I think to be responsible in advertising...is part of having integrity and paying attention to how people feel about things. Sort of finding your place.

Co-optation

One of the goals for this study was to understand the views of advertising professionals on co-optation theory. In order to get insights on this issue, informants were asked whether they thought the proposed theory occurs in advertising. One informant was very critical of the theory since he believes that Adbusters subvertisements do not have any inspirational value:

I think that quite honestly, I think because Adbusters doesn't do what they do smartly, because they're shock, because they're not trying to change people's opinions at a more permanent level, I would tend to think that advertisers or ad execs at say Coca Cola would not care what they have in their magazine. I would tend to think they wouldn't be fed anything from Adbusters. If I'm going to get inspiration, I will towards the Adlist, I'll look online, I'll look anywhere but a publication about how bad ads are. It's not going to further a message, it's not going to give me any inspiration to look at it other than to be like "Oh that corporation is bad", so what? You're not trying to change them. You're simply just telling me a message and every once in a while I could see definitely getting inspiration from something like that, but I think it's too far in between to really make a difference.

On the other hand, another informant's position on the co-optation issue was more along the lines of corporations adopting to the cultural times as well as catering to their consumers:

I think one they are seeing it as working on some level and anytime there is something that is working, people are quick to jump all over it and see what that is about. Another part of it is probably recognizing that there is a group of people out there who feels differently about advertising and marketing than before. I mean if you look at Generation X, which is kind of notoriously known for being very anti-marketing and how can you target me and as this sort of evil practice, but that is the sort of people that you cannot really ignore. It is a big enough group of people and they are going to spend their money on something, so I think probably a lot of that is trying to show that “we understand you, we get that you don’t want to be talked to like this, so we’re kind of doing to ourselves and hopefully that’s going to be good enough, you’re going to like that as opposed to something else we could do.” So I think a lot of it is sort of responding to the group of people and sort of the cultural times that recognizing that this is something that is going on and how do we work with it kind of. If you cannot beat them join them sort of mentality. And in a way stand out from your competitors who are all doing the same sort of things over and over as opposed to taking a chance and do something a little different.

Neither informant believes that corporations utilize co-optation strategies to lower the voices of culture jammers. As advertisers, they oppose the repressive tolerance notion Marcuse (1965) suggested as a way of rendering dissenting voices harmlessly by absorbing them into the spectacle. According to the informants, self-mockery is adopted by advertisers either because it is profitable to do so or it works as a marketing strategy due to consumer behavior. Yet, the scene behind the picture that critics tend to focus on seem to be avoided by advertisers. As one informant put it, one has to “suck it” and employ postmodern survivalist strategies of engaging in ironic consumption and reflexive and responsible business methods.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate the effects of attitude toward anti-branding messages on attitude toward the brand in question. We have specifically focused on anti-branding messages created by Adbusters and have selected to apply a subvertising campaign developed on Absolut Vodka. The study explored the effects of attitude toward subvertisements and advertisements on attitude toward the Absolut brand depending on brand loyalty/familiarity.

We found that attitudes toward either Absolut advertising stimuli positively affect brand attitude after exposure. Although two out of three subvertisements had negative correlations with brand attitude after exposure, the cumulative effect for subvertisements was positive and similar to the effect of original advertisements. As a result it is possible to say that brand attitude effects of subvertisements are similar to the effects of original advertisements.

The study found that for the Enthusiasts, Loyalists, Buyers and Terrorists groups in the brand loyalty categories, anti-branding messages do not significantly change brand attitudes. After the Terrorists and Rejecters groups were merged together, we have observed that the brand attitude for the combined group behave similarly to the Rejecters group which will be discussed later in this chapter.

After merging Enthusiasts and Loyalists groups together, we have found that the brand attitudes for the new group do not change after exposure to subvertisements and advertisements. As we have not found a correlation between attitude toward subvertisements and attitude toward Absolut after exposure, we can conclude that

subvertisements do not affect the brand attitudes for Enthusiast and Loyalists in a negative or positive way. The strong correlation between brand attitude before and after being exposed to ad stimuli might be an explanatory factor in this finding. Enthusiasts and Loyalists have strong positive brand attitudes toward Absolut and exposure to branding or anti-branding messages do not change their attitudes. Burnkrant, Page, and Unnava (1991) suggest that more experience with a product is associated with greater consistency between the cognitive, affective, and conative components of people's attitudes. As these participants are already-converted consumers (Shudson, 1984), their preconceived brand attitudes would be harder to be influenced.

For the Buyers group, we have not found a significant difference between brand attitudes toward Absolut before and after being exposed to subvertisements and advertisements. Yet, brand attitudes before and after being exposed to subvertisements and advertisements have a positive relationship. We have also found a positive relationship between brand attitude after exposure and attitude toward subvertisements. Attitude toward advertisements has a similar yet stronger positive relationship with brand attitude. Thus, we can conclude that neither anti-branding messages nor advertisements made a significant change in brand attitudes for the Buyers group. The reason for this finding might be related to the finding that brand consciousness for the Buyers group has a negative relationship with brand attitude before exposure. In other words, respondents who are more brand conscious do not favor Absolut at the beginning of the study. 66.4% of the Buyers group fall into the moderate to high brand conscious category.

The reason for this negative correlation may be because of the attrition of Absolut's market share in the United States by brands such as Smirnoff, Stolichnaya, as well as new competitors such as the French Grey Goose and Dutch Kettle One in the recent years (see Exhibit 6). Absolut's marketing strategy has been image based with its iconic ad campaign, but the brand's 61% market share went down to 40% since 1998. Even though there was a 10% growth in 2003 in sales of imported vodkas, Absolut's market share kept declining (Howard, 2004). Since the launch of new products such as Absolut Raspberri and Level in 2004, Absolut has gained 3.4 % in market share, however it does not compensate for the considerable drop over the past few years. Consequently as Absolut was once the brand of choice for most of the brand conscious consumers, it is likely that the brand lost its followers due to its market share loss.

For the Rejecters group, brand attitude was significantly different after getting exposed to subvertisements and advertisements. We have found that brand attitudes before and after being exposed to subvertisements and advertisements have a positive relationship. In other words, as brand attitude before the exposure is positive, brand attitude after the exposure tend to be positive as well. So, for the Rejecters, brand attitude after being exposed to anti-branding messages rely heavily on their preconceived notions about the brand.

The goal of the study was to determine whether subvertisements had any effect on brand attitudes. We found that attitude toward subvertisements has a significant positive relationship with brand attitudes for Absolut for the Buyers and Rejecters groups. Thus, as the attitude toward subvertisements increase, the brand attitude for Absolut for these

groups also increase. For the Non-Drinkers in this category, attitude toward subvertisements was not correlated with brand attitude after exposure. On the other hand, attitude toward original advertisements was positively correlated with brand attitude after exposure. For the Drinkers in this category, both original advertisements and subvertisements had positive correlations with brand attitude after exposure.

A well-documented finding in behavioral decision theory and impression formation is that negative information is weighed more heavily than positive information. (Fiske, 1980; Kanouse and Hanson, 1972; Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). Consumers pay more attention to communication messages that carry negative information. It is also noted that negative information about a product is more memorable than positive information (Scott and Tybout, Shudson, 1984). Assimilation-contrast theory (Sherif, Sherif and Nebergal 1965) suggests that prior experience or attitude of the receiver and its relative position to that presented in the message will determine whether it is drawn closer into the receiver's sphere (assimilation) or expelled further outside the receiver's position (contrasted). Thus negative information consistent with the receiver's beliefs would be assimilated and that which is incompatible would be contrasted and rejected with subsequent low compliance. Also, research has suggests that consumers weigh negative information about a product more heavily than positive information where their personal investment in the product under consideration is high or where their decision to buy implies some kind of final commitment. Consumers also tend to place greater emphasis on negative information when they are harassed or pressed for time (Wright, 1974).

An important factor that should be considered in evaluating the results is the exposure that the respondents have had to subvertisements. This is closely related to the advertising dollars allocated by Absolut, in other words it's share of voice in the vodka category, compared to the advertising dollars allocated by Adbusters. A company's share of voice is the ratio of advertising dollars spent on its product to the total advertising expenditures for all brands in the same product category (Shudson, 1984). It is essential to understanding the effects of subvertisements since dissemination of the message is a crucial aspect in persuasion. Since Adbusters does not have an advertising budget for its subvertisements, and disseminates them through its magazine, it would be beneficial to consider the circulation rate of the magazine. The magazine's international circulation is reported to be 120,000 on their website⁸. It began as a local quarterly in 1989 with three full-time volunteers and a circulation of 5,000 copies. It now has a dozen editors, over 250 freelancers. Two-thirds of those readers are American, but there are subscribers in more than 60 countries. The magazine is the top-selling Canadian magazine in the U.S., and can be found at mainstream outlets like Barnes & Noble, Borders and Whole Foods. When compared with Adbusters, Absolut, the largest vodka advertiser, spent 60% more than Smirnoff, which was the second largest spender in 1998. Smirnoff share-of-voice was 19.1 percent, compared to Absolut's 46.8 percent. Thus, there is a clear difference between visibility of subvertisements and original advertisements in favor of Absolut. Another dissemination channel for Adbusters is through the use of the internet, however it is not feasible to monitor online dissemination of subvertisements or original

⁸ <http://www.adbusters.com>

advertisements. Thus, it is important to consider the social effects of the culture jamming discourse in terms of a social movement in addition to the myopic brand attitude level.

New Social Movement theorists point out that the creation of new meanings and reinterpretation of norms and values do not take place at the state level, rather at the level of social integration. Thus, the field of social conflict has shifted from the political sphere to civil society and the cultural realm (Touraine, 1985; Melucci, 1985). The new social movements transform civil society by creating new spaces, new solidarities and new democratic forms. These liberated spaces allow alternative norms and values to guide social interaction new identities and solidarities are formed.

Since culture jammers do not abide by the accepted norms of advertisers, their work can be characterized as emancipatory practices for the Habermas' decolonization of the lifeworld. In order to achieve the goal of opposing the advertising meta-narrative, Adbusters creates subvertisements and attempts to democratize communication by creating stereo dialogues rather than the mono channels of corporate mass media. They advocate a universal right to communicate which implies a responsibility to listen as well as to access the means of mass communication.

Subvertisements should be viewed more than anti-advertising rhetoric because they aim to change the cultural codes of commercial messages from profit-seeking corporate communication into non-profit anti-consumerist messages. The language of the corporate cultural codes are spoken fluently and inherently because brands constitute a large part of the consumers' landscapes of desires. Sherry (1998) defines the term brandscape as

a material and symbolic environment that consumers build with marketplace products, images, and messages, that they invest with local meaning, and whose totemic significance largely shapes the adaptation consumers make to the modern world. Brandscaping is one of the ways consumption is actively produced by consumers (p.112).

Thus, subvertisements aim to disrupt the subordination of individuals' needs to the needs of corporations. One informant's discussion of consumers' usage of brand codes is noteworthy:

To me being in advertising, you can certainly manipulate or exploit people if that's your intention. The other side of that though is that people are again fundamentally rational and irrational. We cannot divorce ourselves from our emotions. And we absolutely buy things and make personal decisions and brand decisions based on emotion. If we bought everything for rational reasons, there would be one kind of soap; one kind of bread and it's just not that straightforward. People have needs beyond the functional. And that's actually why I've always found advertising, probably more specifically branding interesting is because it's just another way for people to do what they're going to do regardless of what kind of society they live in which is they are going to create identities for themselves, they are going to express those identities to other people in hopes of finding people who are similar to them and attracting people as well as you know avoiding people who disagree with them. If you go back and look at any culture or society that kind of behavior has always happened. Whether it's happened through tribal totems, or you know Maori tattoos and what that symbolized about you; it's the same thing. And maybe it has less value because it's superficial mass-produced goods that we're using to do that, but the behavior itself is perfectly natural. And this is the society we live in and the culture we live in, so those are the tools that are out there. They are not all the tools by any means, but they're certainly a key set I think.

It is commonly accepted that brands are thought of as essential to marketing strategies and the driving force of economic prosperity (Aaker and Joachimsthaler 2000; Keller 2000; Leonard 1997). They are accepted as powerful symbolic resources for the construction of personal and communal identities (Fournier 1998; Holt 2002; Muniz and

O'Guinn 2001). On the other hand, brands are often criticized as ideological forces, colonizing cultural and economic life (Frank 1997; Klein 1999) and perpetrators of creating unattainable needs. Shudson (1984) suggests that people's needs have never been natural, on the contrary, always cultural and social. The standards of the society define the needs of individuals. In American society and increasingly in other industrialized nations, social and cultural human needs are defined in terms of level of income and by brands. Thus it is exactly this accepted norm of corporate colonization of lifeworld and the dominance of the spectacle that culture jammers contest. Yet the feasibility of being successful at challenging the codes seem to be difficult as we have found that anti-branding messages behave similarly as advertisements in terms of attitudes toward the brand code they're aiming to challenge. The discussion of one of the informants on the success of culture jamming discourse is notable:

I do not think it is attainable in this society. And it is asking too much all of us to instantly recognize. And I don't think you could do it with a magazine. You are not going to change someone's ideology with a print ad either. All we are trying to do is communicate, you know, trying to execute and solve a problem on a piece of paper. And ultimately what you do is just decide whether to move products, or to generate business dollars. We are salesman. It is what we do. We are paid to do it. I think what they are doing is the same thing. But I think it needs to be more in the form of philosophical things.

Why do you think they are creating print ads? I mean I would imagine they would think that it would not work. If you cannot change someone's ideology with a print ad?

I think I see how they would think that way. If they could philosophically start planting the seeds into your brain, with messaging that you agree with or feel a connection with then maybe over time it can get people to think differently. When you think about the first CD that you picked up when you started hating your dad for taking away your phone and the lyrics really ran true to you and you found yourself with that artist's pain. For me it was in the frame of Poison's Every Rose Has Its Thorn. To this day I think about that epiphany I had.

So, it is a timing issue?

I think what they are trying to do is to disseminate their product. Because that is basically what it is. I mean an ideology is a product...As long as they are doing that, as long as they feel that they are successful, they will keep doing it... I think the appeal they have is that it is about the philosophical realm. They are perceived as this guy (shows Appendix E, visual 36), the culture of the street.

The above discussion of culture of the street striving to change the dominant ideology resonates with Dery's (1993) belief that culture jammers are those who write theory on the streets. The theoretical leader of the situationist movement that culture jamming follows, Debord (1967), developed the idea that by actively getting involved in successful subversion, the divide between theory and action would diminish, thus social change would take place smoothly. A cultural revolution would be gradual, but the effective strategy of transforming everyday life would make it possible.

Touraine (1981) suggests that change of societal type, revolutions and development are located at the diachronic axes of a social system. He argues that in order for a transition from one social system to another to occur, there needs to be a radical break with the existing system's logic. It also necessitates an agent, which can only be the state, and a logic of action from outside the system. The state becomes the "central agent of development" (p. 117) at the diachronic level. On the other hand, historicity resides at the synchronic level with norms, social institutions and cultural patterns. Social movements operate at the synchronic level. However, the state, which is the agent necessary for social change, is marginal because it is located along a different axis. Thus, according to Touraine, culture jamming alone would not create a revolution. As one informant suggested:

Companies need advertising. And to that effect whether or not an Adbusters could be out there and actually change anybody's mind is not going to be so much attacking advertising as it is going to be attacking the message behind advertising. To which maybe they'd be better served by hiring lobbyists, you know.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985), suggest that every new social conflict is political, as politics expand to civil society. Separation between social movements and the political system can potentially contribute to the de-politicization of these movements. Touraine's view suggest that social movements are not more than cultural phenomena although they are also struggles for institutional reform.

Thus evaluating success of culture jamming discourse is problematic because of the contradictions in the literature. We agree with Melucci's argument that the self-construction and thus the existence of a social movement is itself a success, however also agree with Sklair's (1995) argument that ordinary countercultures are regularly incorporated into the consumer culture and actually pose little threat to the capitalist system (also Holt 2002; Kozinets 2002) (Kozinets ,and Handelman, 2004).

Social Responsibility

The insights gained by the qualitative study illustrate the concern with self-regulation with advertising professionals'. It is evident that the advertisers used in this present study are not inattentive to the criticisms of culture jammers and advertising critics; on the contrary, they perceive corporate social responsibility and business ethics as solutions to issues of general concern.

In the marketing literature, corporate social responsibility refers to a firm's obligations to society (Smith 2003). It is related to the categories of economic, legal, ethical and discretionary activities of a business that are adapted to the values and

expectations of society (Andrews, 1987; Carroll, 1979; Sethi, 1975). Corporate social responsibility initiatives describe the various forms of company involvement with charitable causes and the nonprofits that represent them. Research has shown that companies gain enhanced consumer perceptions by getting involved in corporate social responsibility initiatives and by advertising such projects effectively (Brown and Dacin 1997; Drumwright 1996; Sen and Bhattacharya 2001). Corporate social responsibility initiatives create benefits for companies through increasing consumers' identification with the corporation. In other words, customer-corporate identification, which is the degree of overlap in a consumer's self-concept and their perception of the corporation (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail 1994) is heightened by corporate social responsibility initiatives. For example, consumers have higher degrees of identification with a company that engages in a corporate social responsibility program, provided that the cause overlaps with their self-concept (e.g., environmentalist, compassionate). Sen and Bhattacharya (2001) find that corporate social responsibility positively affects customer-corporate identification. The growth, admiration and sale of Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream serves as an excellent example of this phenomenon. Their findings also show that corporate social responsibility has a positive effect on consumer evaluations of the company, which is partially due to the customer-corporate identification. When consumers perceive companies as behaving in a socially responsible manner, these organizations become more appealing for customer-corporate identification. Thus, consumers are more likely to support and identify with those corporations that convey a

social message they agree with. It becomes evident from marketing literature that socially responsible companies attract a significant group of consumers.

The ethic of corporate social responsibility has been described as the alignment of business operations with social values (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail 1994). Corporate social responsibility aims to integrate the interest of stakeholders into the company's business policies and actions. Historically, corporations define their only responsibility as providing a maximum financial return to shareholders. On the other hand, we have identified that advertising professionals who took part in this study feel that businesses have broader social responsibilities:

I think companies have had to reconcile the fact that they are going to be transparent now that people have more control and more access to information that it's really pretty hard to hide any kind of secret that you have. Sooner or later it is going to come out and you're going to have to deal with it. And so if this created a resolution or survival options in the marketplace for people, to me that's a good thing. You know I'm sure Apple didn't like being targeted, but at the same time if they're not really being responsible to their audience, then they kind of deserve it. You know I think as a company, you know, I think respecting your consumers is a big deal. And I think there's a lot of ways you can do that, especially in terms of the products you deliver, and making sure it's going to live up to people's expectations and not having respect for the people who give their money in return of a product is kind of the worst thing you can do as a company.

This view argues that corporate social responsibility is part of the exchange of relationship the company has with the communities in which the company does business. Corporations have an implied social responsibility toward the community as they have been granted the right by society to operate within a community (Carroll 1991). This responsibility requires that apart from delivering accurate information about their products, businesses should contribute financial and human resources to the community, and aim to improve the quality of life in the community.

A company's reputation for social responsibility is not usually the most important factor in the consumer purchase decision (Mohr, Webb, and Harris 2001). Rather, research suggests that the perceived social responsibility of a company becomes a factor in purchase decisions for consumers when price and quality among similar products are equal (Holmes 2001). As mentioned earlier, if the consumer is involved with the cause, a charitable donation is a way for companies to show that they are committed to issues that their customers are concerned with. Such corporate social responsibility initiatives help companies establish a deeper relationship with their customers and build loyalty. Thus, social responsibility initiatives have substantial positive effect on brand image.

Corporate social responsibility and business ethics have two different meanings, however, as Robin and Reidenbach (1987) suggest. Business ethics encompass core business values assumed by many U.S. companies, such as efficiency, pragmatism and freedom (DeGeorge, 1999). Velasquez (1999) defines business ethics as “a specialized study of moral right and wrong. It concentrates on moral standards as they apply particularly to business policies, institutions and behaviors” (p. 13). Social responsibility and business ethics are considered separately in literature since the existence of a code of ethics does not ensure successful implementation of these values.

Businesses gain positive impact by integrating socially responsible and ethical core values in their business strategy therefore it is essential that these values are implemented in marketing strategies. Ex post facto analysis of ethical issues would not create an environment for successful profit-creating results. Dean (2003) finds evidence that businesses with a reputation for social irresponsibility may significantly increase

consumer attitudes by engaging in a single charitable donation, however a single charitable donation will not raise the image of an irresponsible company to that of a conscientious company. Thus, continuous engagement in socially responsible actions is needed in order to make a long-lasting impact on consumers.

One company that is well known for its social responsibility is Stonyfield Farm⁹. The New Hampshire organic dairy producer's emphasis is on environmental sustainability and organic products. The company's revenues were \$130 million in 2004 showing that social responsibility does not hinder profitability Patagonia¹⁰ is another company that bases its business and marketing strategy on a social responsibility axis by manufacturing products using environmentally friendly fabrics. Patagonia garments are made of organic cotton since 1996. Their decision to use only organic cotton came after the realization that the natural fiber used in most sportswear, cotton, creates a massive pollution to the environment. It is known that 25% of all toxic pesticides used in agriculture used in cultivation of cotton, and results in pollution of soil and water. Patagonia donates 1% of its sales to groups that are focused on environmental protection and restoration (Lichtenstein et al, 2004). Companies that choose to employ socially responsible initiatives are increasing and there are exclusive funds that are comprised of only such companies. It is reported that one out of eight dollars under professional management in the U.S. is involved in socially responsible investing and Americans had over \$2 trillion in socially responsible investments in 2001 (2001 Trends Report, 2001).

⁹ <http://www.stonyfield.com>

¹⁰ <http://www.patagonia.com>

With an increasing number of socially responsible businesses, there are advertising agencies that cater to the promotional needs of corporations with social concerns. An example of an advertising agency with a social responsibility mantra is Egg¹¹, which started in Seattle in 2003. The advertising agency Egg chooses to target only socially responsible businesses. Marty McDonald and Mindee Nodvin started the agency to exclusively work with responsible brands and corporations. They choose to create advertising that provides consumers with accurate information about products and services, ensures that the advertising is in compliance with all applicable federal, state, and local laws and regulations, including the self-regulatory guidelines of the National Advertising Division (NAD) and Children's Advertising Review Unit (CARU) and avoids advertising themes that belittle any group based on its racial, ethnic, or religious traits, and shun ageism and sexism.

As the insights from the advertising professionals who took part in this study clarified, it is in companies own hands to decide on whether to shun or embrace critics of commercialism and advertising. As there is a substantial difference between the share of voice of companies and the dissemination reach of culture jammers, it is obviously harder for critics to publicize their concerns with commercialism, advertising and business practices. As this study shows, the discourse of culture jammers does not negatively affect brands. Combined with a weak share of voice compared with major brands' advertising dissemination rates, the future for social change mostly relies on the businesses' self-regulation and social consciousness decisions, rather than effects of new

¹¹ <http://www.eggusa.net>

social movements such as culture jamming. Thus, concentrating on a change in terms of corporate practices would better serve the cause of social change.

Further research might investigate how to increase consumer demand of socially responsible brands and companies as well as focus on developing advertising strategies to increase consumer awareness of corporate criticism with an aim to intensify such demand. In addition, future research might examine how to use advertising strategies to shift corporations' traditional stockholder-centric philosophy towards a more progressive profitable social responsibility-centric values.

LIMITATIONS

Several caveats should be considered in interpreting the results of this study. First, although the quantitative sample was collected from a diverse population, the number of respondents in the brand loyalty groups were significantly different than each other. Further research should aim to close the gap between respondent size in each group. Second, the quantitative sample was not randomly selected. Third, the survey was administered online which creates a series of limitations. There is always a possibility that test-takers may not read instructions properly or may ignore disclaimers, perhaps more frequently so than in monitored face-to-face situations. Monitoring a non-compliant subject would not be possible. There is always the possibility that the client's browser, monitor, and/or video card may have settings that are in an entirely different configuration than the designer intended so that the layout of the questionnaire or test might look somewhat different from that envisioned. Fourth, the qualitative sample was a small convenience sample comprised of young advertising professionals. Further qualitative research should gain aim to insights from advertising professionals who are more experienced.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed at investigating the effects of culture jamming efforts on brands in terms of subvertisements and demonstrated that in the case of Adbusters, the particular anti-branding campaign in question affected the consumers in the same manner as brand messages did.

Although the Situationist Movement aims at a larger form of influence, its vocal follower in North America, Adbusters, uses instruments of criticism, subvertisements that seem to be working in favor of the brands used in the discourse. The main argument of this dissertation was to reveal the "unintended effects of subvertisements" if any and we were able to show that subvertisements act as advertisements for a particular brand. Even though the ultimate goal of Absolut subvertisements may be to challenge the cultural norms about drinking or to dismiss the value of brand arbitrage as the bottle sits on the shelf and for the consumer to search, or to serve as a general indictment of the hyperbole associated with a colorless, odorless spirit generally mixed with other flavors prior to consumption, the subvertisements seem to be unintentionally and unexpectedly working in favor of the Absolut brand.

EXHIBITS

Exhibit 1

Think Disillusioned Subvertisement Campaign



Exhibit 2

Banana Republic Subvertisement Campaign



Exhibit 3

Camel Subvertisement Campaign

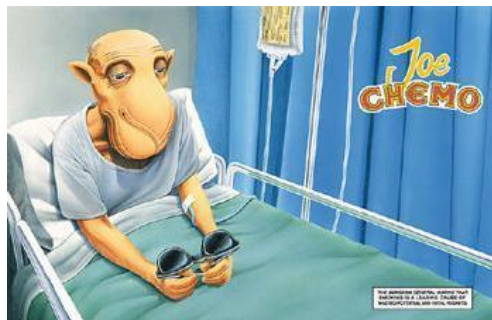


Exhibit 4

The Product is You Campaign



Figure 1: The camera moves slowly toward a young man watching TV in his living room.



Figure 2: Voice: "... Your living room is the factory..."



Figure 3: "...the product being manufactured is you."

Exhibit 5

DIALECTICAL MODEL OF BRANDING AND CONSUMER CULTURE

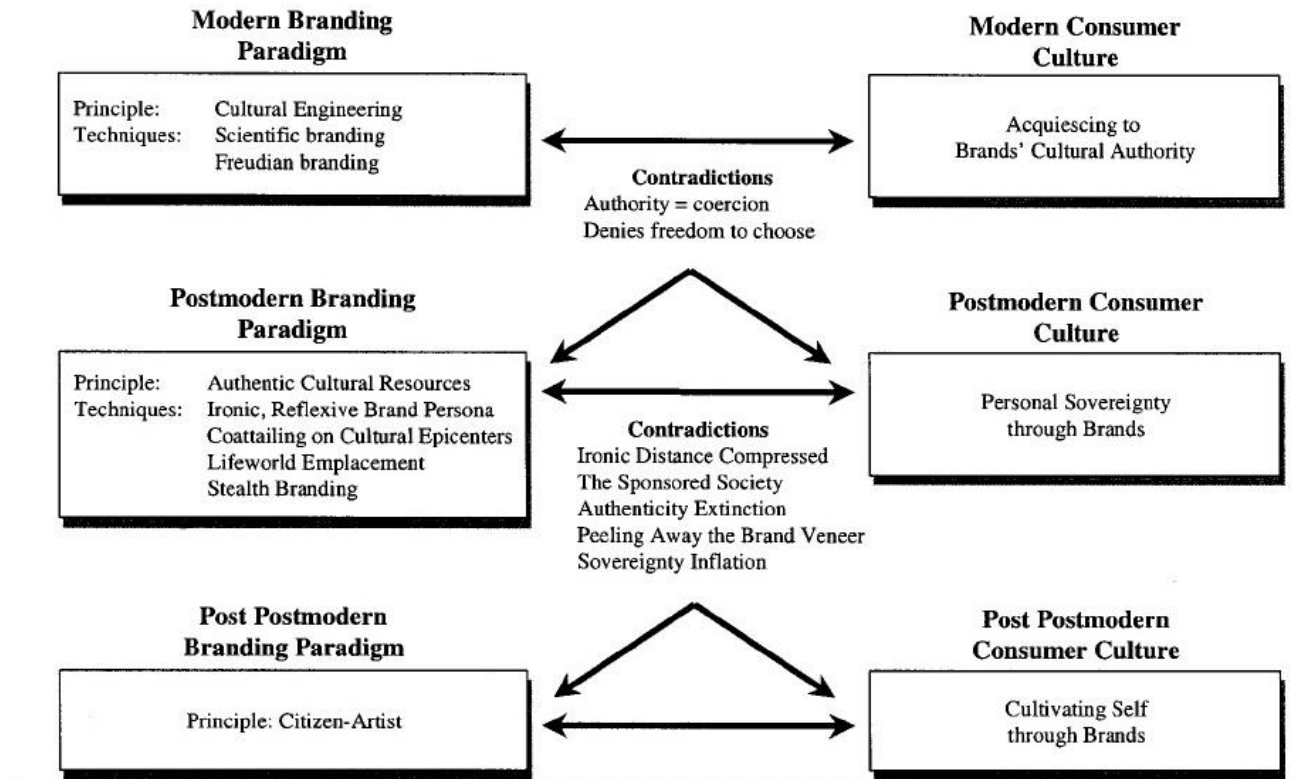


Exhibit 6

TOP PREMIUM VODKAS 2004

(Estimates)

Millions of 9 liter cases

Smirnoff	20.1
ABSOLUT	8.5
Stolichnaya (export)	2.8
Bols Vodka	2.2
Skyy	2.1
Grey Goose	1.8
Finlandia	1.7
Ketel One	1.5
Gordon's Vodka	1.5
Glen's	1.5

Source: Impact

TABLES

Table 1

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.215
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.476

Table 2

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
.483	.234	.230	1.19

a Predictors: (Constant), AAD_Sadist, AAD_London, AAD_Onice, AAD_Hangover, AAD_Marilyn, AAD_Impotence

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	.567	.207		2.736	.006
AAD_Hangover	.092	.033	.081	2.784	.005
AAD_Impotence	-.022	.039	-.016	-.552	.581
AAD_London	.228	.037	.162	6.242	.000
AAD_Marilyn	.347	.035	.269	9.875	.000
AAD_Onice	-.006	.029	-.006	-.219	.827
AAD_Sadist	.240	.034	.198	7.105	.000

Dependent Variable: POSTBAS

Table 3

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.763

Table 4

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.052	.105

Table 5

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.020

Table 6
Enthusiasts Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	-.248	-.035

Table 7
Enthusiasts Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	-.360
Attitude Toward Original Ads	-.216

Table 8

Enthusiasts Group Paired Samples Test

	Paired Differences		Std. Error Mean	t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation			
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.53	1.50	.36	1.455	16

Table 9
Terrorists Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.100
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.189

Table 10
Terrorists Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s			t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean		
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.00455E-02	1.47	.44	.103	10

Table 11
Terrorists Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	-0.185	-0.04

Table 12
Loyalists Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.198	.170

Table 13
Loyalists Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Differences		t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation		
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.37	.68	1.448	65

Table 14
Loyalists Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.718

Table 15
Loyalists Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.101
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.064

Table 16
Buyers Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.710

Table 17
Buyers Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s		t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation		
PREBAS - POSTBAS	0.026	.90	.847	865

Table 18
Buyers Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	-.068	-.006

Table 19
Buyers Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.236
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.486

Table 20
Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.724

Table 21
Rejecters Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s			t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean		
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.16	.88	4.42E-02	3.601	392

Table 22
Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.016	.082

Table 23
Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.190
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.399

Table 24
Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

Post Brand Attitude Score	
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.492

Table 25
Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df
	Mean				
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.22	1.05	.11	1.932	86

Table 26
Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.061	.195

Table 27
Enthusiast-Loyalists Merged Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.161
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.195

Table 28
Terrorists-Rejecters Merged Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

Post Brand Attitude Score	
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.735

Table 29
Terrorists-Rejecters Merged Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df
	Mean				
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.15	.89	.044	3.475	406

Table 30
Terrorists-Rejecters Merged Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.017	.075

Table 31
Terrorists-Rejecters Merged Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.205
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.394

Table 32
Non-Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

Post Brand Attitude Score	
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.731

Table 33
Non-Drinker Rejecters Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df
	Mean				
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.083	1.14	.09	2.770	106

Table 34
Non-Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	-.018	.086

Table 35
Non-Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.044
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.478

Table 36
Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Pre Brand Attitude Score and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Pre Brand Attitude Score	.658

Table 37
Drinker Rejecters Group

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Difference s			t	df
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean		
PREBAS - POSTBAS	.12	.83	.049	2.441	285

Table 38
Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Pre Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Branded Products and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Pre Brand Attitude Score	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Branded Products	.049	.104

Table 39
Drinker Rejecters Group

Correlation Between Attitude Toward Subvertisements and Post Brand Attitude Score and Between Attitude Toward Original Ads and Post Brand Attitude Score

	Post Brand Attitude Score
Attitude Toward Subvertisements	.267
Attitude Toward Original Ads	.258

APPENDIX A-C

Appendix A

Brand Loyalty Questionnaire

Terrorist, Rejecter, Buyer, Loyalist and Enthusiast

	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neither Agree nor Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree
I only drink Absolut.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I collect Absolut advertisements.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
There are other brands of vodka that are better than Absolut.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I don't have a preference among vodka brands.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I bring Absolut to parties in case it is not available.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I try to discourage others from drinking Absolut.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
If Absolut were on sale, I'd buy it.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
Absolut is clearly the worst vodka brand available	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I prefer to drink Absolut.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I always recommend Absolut to others.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I am willing to pay more for Absolut.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
I own the Absolut Book.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
If Absolut is the only available brand, I would not purchase it.	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____

Appendix B

Attitude Toward the Brand Scale

(Droge, 1989)

Instructions: We would like you to tell us how you describe Absolut Vodka. We are interested in your feelings toward the brand and how you would describe it. Please indicate the degree of these feelings as accurately as possible with an X.

1. good	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	bad
2. dislike very much	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	like very much (reverse coded)
3. disagreeable	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	agreeable
4. unsatisfactory	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	satisfactory
5. foolish	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	wise (reverse coded)
6. harmful	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	beneficial

Appendix C

Attitude Toward the Ad (Negative Feelings) Scale

(Edell and Burke, 1987 and Burke and Edell, 1989)

Instructions: We would like you to tell us how the ad you just saw made you feel. We are interested in your reactions to the ad, not how you would describe it. Please indicate the degree of these feelings as accurately as possible with an X.

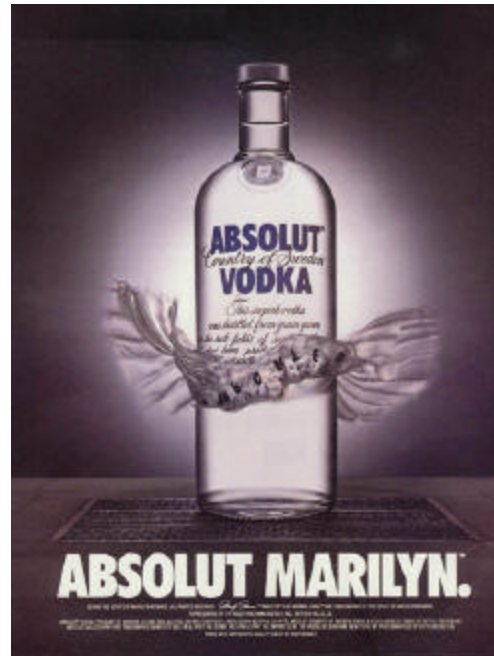
126

	Strongly Disagree	:	Disagree	:	Neither Agree Or Disagree	:	Agree	:	Strongly Agree
1. Bored	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
2. Critical	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
3. Defiant	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
4. Depressed	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
5. Disgusted	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
6. Disinterested	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
7. Dubious	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
8. Dull	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
9. Lonely	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
10. Offended	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
11. Regretful	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
12. Sad	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
13. Skeptical	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
14. Suspicious	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
15. Angry	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
16. Annoyed	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
17. Bad	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
18. Fed-up	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
19. Insulted	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____
20. Irritated	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____	:	_____

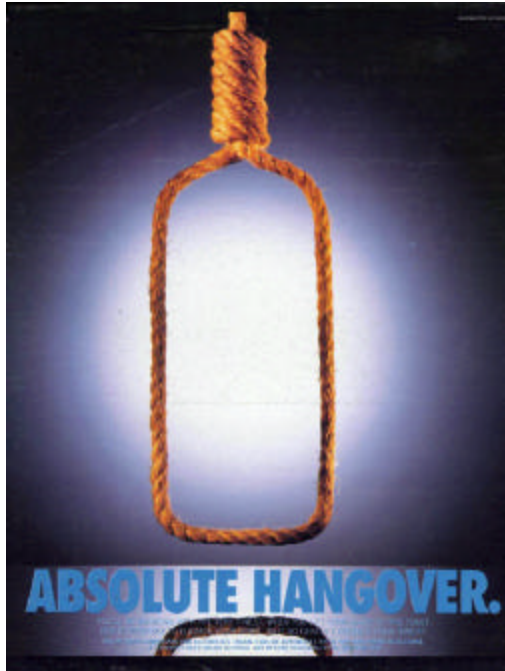
Appendix D

Advertising Stimuli

?? Original Advertisements



?? Subvertisements



The copy reads: “You'll be swinging with the very finest, when you lift your glass in this toast, for it promises to elevate your spirit, as it so gently caresses your throat.”



The copy reads: “Drink provokes the desire but takes away the performance. William Shakespeare.”



The copy reads: “Nearly 50% of automobile fatalities are linked to alcohol. 10% of North Americans are alcoholics. A teenager sees 100,000 alcohol ads before reaching the legal drinking age.”

APPENDIX E

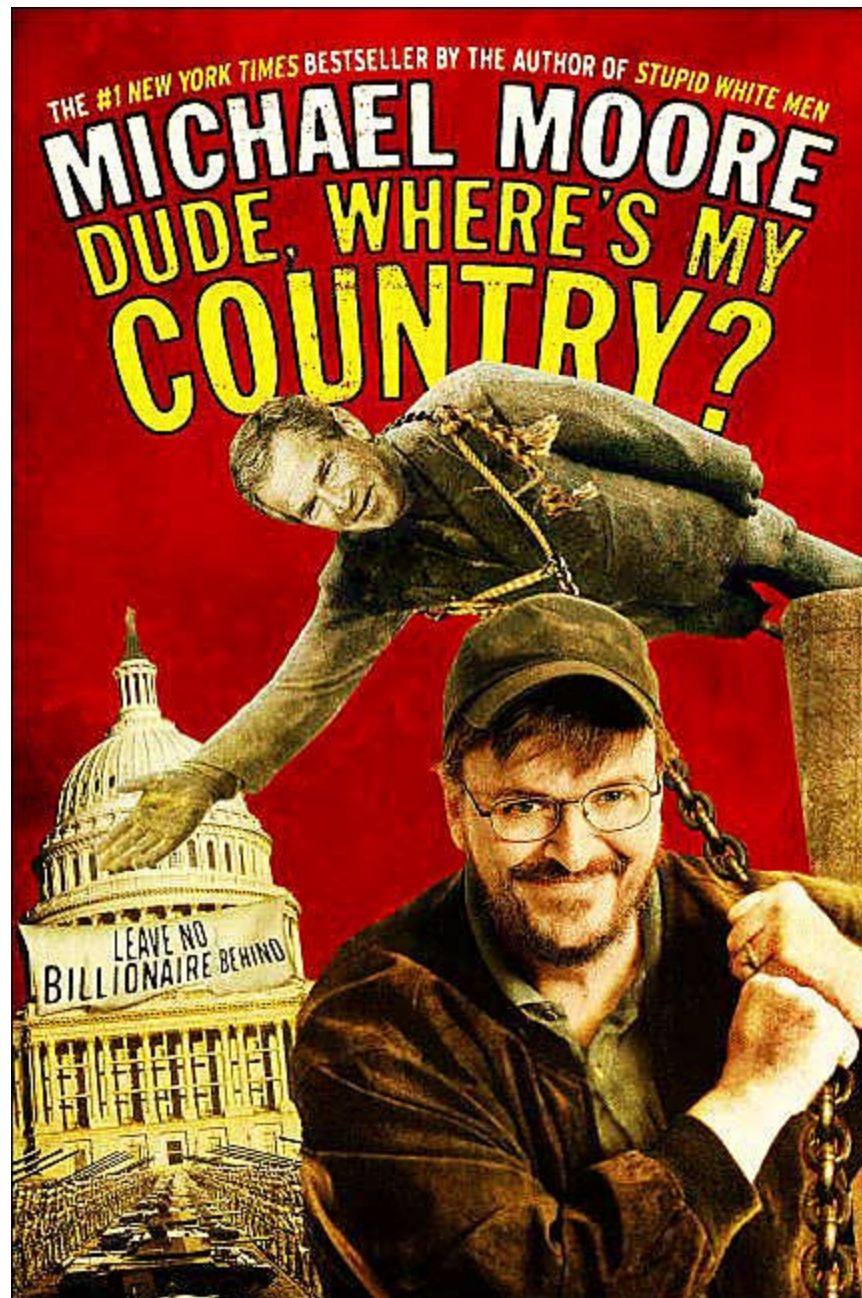
Visual 1



Visual 2



Visual 3



Visual 4



Visual 5



Visual 6



Visual 7



Visual 8



Visual 9



Visual 10



Visual 11



Visual 12



DRUG DESIGN

Cocktail Hour

Get ready for high-speed pharmbots that mix and match drugs and doses by the millions. **by Chris Mooney**

For the 2 million Americans suffering from rheumatoid arthritis, the best cure is also a curse. Anti-inflammatory steroids dramatically reduce the agonizing pain, but they also cause nasty side effects like diabetes and high blood pressure. Chemists at pharmaceutical and biotech companies have sought the perfect cure – a steroid that

cuts inflammation without the downsides. So far, no luck.

Enter Alexia Borisy, the 33-year-old CEO of Boston biotech Combinatix, with a novel suggestion: Why not deploy two chemicals to attack the disease from different directions? Using a new drug development process known as combination

high-throughput screening, Combinatix mixes millions of pairs of existing drugs in search of unexpected synergies – the rare case where one plus one equals three. The process has revealed several promising leads in the quest to treat rheumatoid arthritis. One, currently in human trials, combines a common steroid with an

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Visual 13



Visual 14



Visual 15



Visual 16



Visual 17



Visual 18



Visual 19



Visual 20



Visual 21



Visual 22



Visual 23



Visual 24



Visual 25

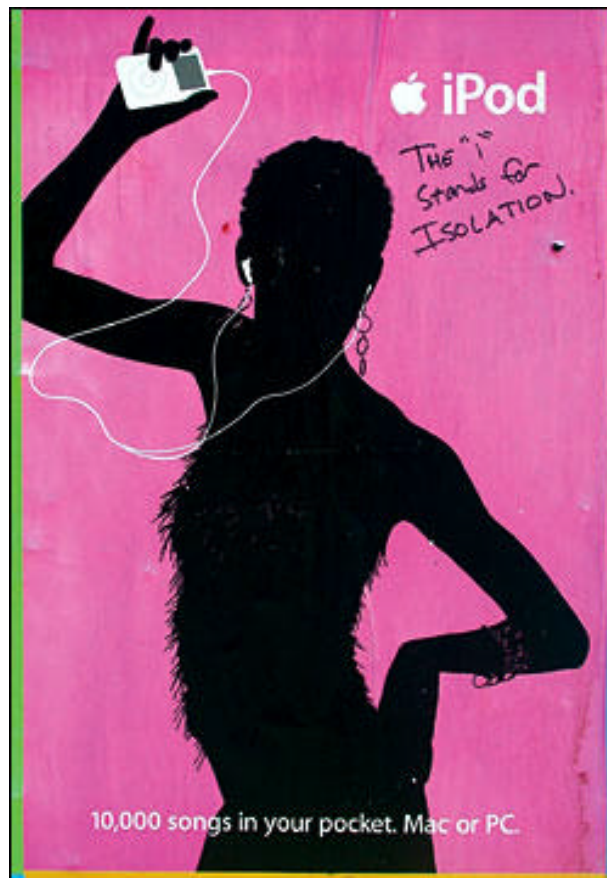


Visual 26

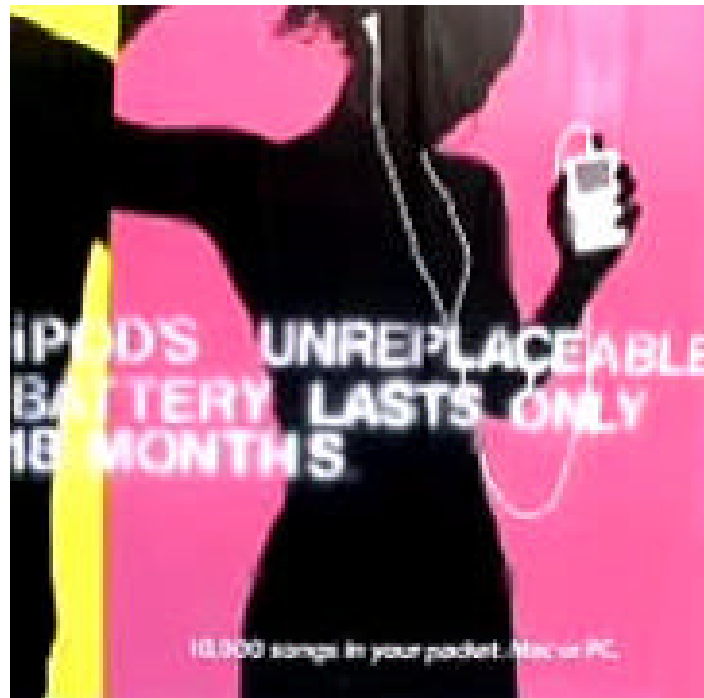




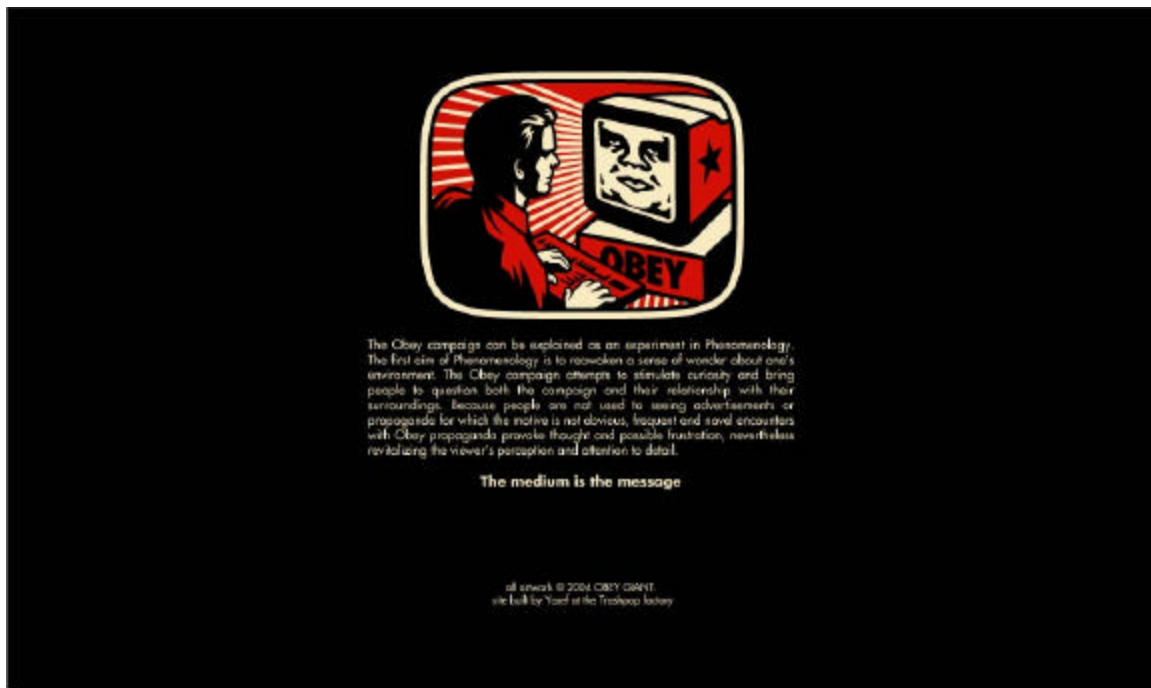
Visual 28



Visual 29



Visual 30



Visual 31



Visual 32



Visual 33

TV-B-Gone™

Universal Remote Control

[Show Cart](#)

[about us](#) [in the news](#) [FAQ](#) [buy now](#) [tv links](#) [RANTS](#) [contact us](#)

Buy your very own



*Buy T-shirts!!
(coming soon!)*

Select a TV-B-Gone Model:

<u>North American & Asian model</u>	<u>European model</u>
\$14.99	\$14.99

Which model works in my country?

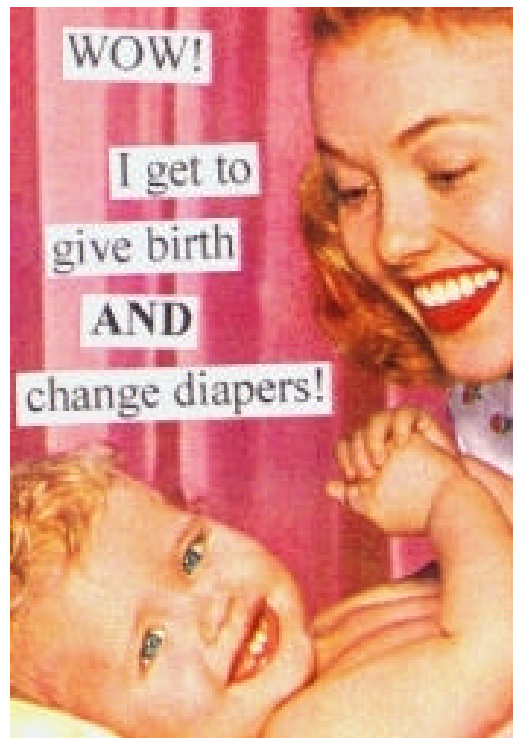
Shipping and Handling fees are **\$4.95 per item** for shipments within the United States, and **\$9.95 per item** for shipments outside the United States (including Canada).

Orders placed today will be mailed out within **3 business days**. Actual delivery time to your door depends on your location and your postal service. For more details, see our [shipping info](#).

For bulk (minimum 20 units) or wholesale orders contact us at orders@cornfieldelectronics.com.

[Warranty & Return Policy](#)

Visual 34



Visual 35

Visual 36



APPENDIX F

Qualitative Analysis Respondent Transcriptions

1. Non-visual images

Airan: “If I didn’t have sight, and if I was feeling around in the dark, and if there was something truly dangerous,...say like a stovetop, as I put my hand on the stovetop and it burned, that would be a bad thing. Adbusters in that sense would be like touching the wall and having it burn my hand, but in not being a bad thing, being like “Why is this burning my hand? I don’t understand why I can’t touch the wall.”

Silver: “A smell that I would equate with Adbusters is I remember being an episode of Seinfeld. Jerry, he got this new Beamer. He liked it a lot. Probably spent a fifty grand on it. But he took it to have it cleaned and when he got it back, he was like this is a fifty thousand car, but you know there is something in here. And it was like a funk that he couldn’t explain and it wouldn’t go away. And everyone who got in it recognized it and I think that that’s what Adbusters is. Sure you have a really cool thing, or product or home or car, but there’s always something lingering there that kind of sours it for you. I think Adbusters is the epidemy of what cognitive dissonance is. Like all they do is kind of further that. You feel guilty that you bought an eight-mile per gallon truck. They’re going to let you know. So I think that Adbusters is that kind of funk you smell in a BMW.

“A touch. I can tell you what Adbusters wants to be. There’s one time I rescued a dog from the shelter. I gave him his first bath. It was like six-seven months old and he was hopping around having fun because never been in the bathtub before. I was trying to hold him and I realized that one of my fingers, when I was holding him, went somewhere it shouldn’t underneath the tail. I’ll never forget that feeling, that moment it had. I look at my dog. I love my dog. I give him kisses every day. I’ll jog him, running around, take him to places, he sleeps at my feet whatever. I never even think about his body. Second nature. But I’ll always look at him and remember that day because it was a poignant and a vivid encounter that I’ll never be able to forget it. I think if Adbusters did their job, that’s the kind of impact and effect they would have on someone.”

Flor: “Maybe like grunge music.

Why do you say that?

They kind of live underneath the real world and they have these weird places they go and hang out and they’re vegetarians and they wear just like those hemp fabric clothes. Kind of those groups of people, like hippies who pick certain causes to be against. They might be ex-creatives or ex-advertisers who are just frustrated with the advertising world, which is frustrating sometimes, but that’s no reason to act the way they do.”

April: “very interruptive. You’re going about your day and there is something jarring. Or it could be something that sounds comforting happy and poppy, but the actual content is very different. It is more serious, or critical. Using almost abusive kind of harsh tactic.”

2. Short Movie

Airan: “I suppose I would cast Adbusters as kind of the “never cry wolf” character.

Like the boy who everybody thinks is watching what’s happening, and then continually cries wolf and everybody looks at towards them and realizes that they’re not really saying much. I guess in that story, then the wolf would eventually come down and steal sheep and no one would listen to the boy. I’m not so sure that I truly believe that corporations are going to come down and cause some irreparable damage upon society. So, I’m not sure that metaphor works past a point.”

Silver: “Imagine you’re at the bottom of the sea and you’re in a crate. And you happen to breathe oxygen in and out of water. In fact you’re a crab. And you’re in this box with ten other crabs and there’s a lobster in it. And he really doesn’t know that he’s a lobster although crabs are like “why did you fall for the bait, I don’t understand.” And he’s like “well, we eat the same thing dude.” Somehow you manage to get in the crab trap. So they already discount him based on the fact that he’s a minority in terms of beliefs or diet. So, they get pulled up and the fisherman goes “damn I got lucky. I got all these rock crabs, that’s a staple in my diet. But I got a lobster, too. Rocking. So they put them in a bucket and sale on their merry way. At the end of the trip, crabs are kind of resigned to their destiny. They know what is in store for them, kind of, they all know that eventually that they’ll have to own up and meet the pot. But I think the lobster kind of feels like he’s out of place. He starts feeling like “you know we all have this destiny, but how did I end up in a crate with ten crabs? It doesn’t really make sense to me. Shouldn’t the world be different?” And instantly he wants to change it and it can’t. It can’t really

escape the fact that it's in a crab trap and now he's in a box and is about to be cooked for dinner. Even though he tries as hard as he can to change it instantaneously, the crabs just know it's not feasible, know it's not possible. They don't really blow him off, but they kind of just reside. It's not apathy; it's more like an acceptance. So, he feels helpless and screams and he gets boiled."

"It's a sad story."

"Yes, I know it's sad. I feel bad for Adbusters. I kind of want to buy the magazine now."

Flor: maybe it's like one of those rapper videos. Where everything is happening so fast with a lot of negative emotions, or where they're screaming different words complaining about their life and what happened to them, and the reality of the world expressing themselves against it. I wouldn't say a short movie for me, maybe a video, a rap video."

April: I keep thinking of a lot of documentaries. Something like Fahrenheit 9-11 or The Corporation that kind of has an expose aspect to them. To me the character of Adbusters would be like a camel lion in terms of being able to take on the aspects of whatever else was in the movie. By taking on that form could alter it in some way so that other people saw it the way it wanted to be seen. Throughout the movie I expect other people's points of view to be changes so there was this new awareness of the world around them. The ultimate goal being that to be more responsible and more intellectual in the way people approach life.

3. Summary image

Airan: “The Greenpeace idea, where perhaps in like a political cartoonish aspect, you would see a bunch of people trying to get work done and trying to get, you know, trying to better society on one side and just on the other side of the fence a few companies doing really kind of crappy stuff and the boy on the hill trying to cry wolf at the people working and not looking the other way.”

Silver visual 2: “This one to me is the epidemic of what Adbusters is. Like these two things to me they would look at and equate.

“Is that a demon on the left?”

“Yes, that is the devil, that is Beelzebub. So...they would think of money as evil.

Capitalism is evil. There is nothing to further being people self-sustaining. And how appropriate is that! The bad luck side up.

April: A magnifying glass because it is just a very critical close-up look of whatever is put in front of it to get a full picture, not just what is presented on the surface but what is underneath it. To see what the flaws are, cracks are and being able to kind of turn around and magnify those things for other people to see.

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